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ITALY:

REMARKS MADE IN SEVERAL VISITS

FROM

THE YEAR 1816 TO 1854.

BY THE

RIGHT HON. LORD BROUGHTON, G.C.B.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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ITALY.

REMARKS MADE IN SEVERAL VISITS

FROM THE YEAR 1816 TO 1854.

CHAPTER XII.

The Capitol.

Ruin and restoration have entirely effaced every vestige of the domicil of all the gods. The greatest uncertainty hangs over this hill. On which side stood the citadel, on which the great temple of the Capitol—and did the temple stand in the citadel?* Read everything that has been written on the topography of a spot four hundred yards in length, and two hundred in breadth, and you will know nothing. Four temples, fifteen chapels (ædes), three altars, the great rock, a fortress, a library, an athenæum, an area covered with statues, the enrolment office, all these are to be arranged in the above space: and of these the last only can be with precision assigned to the double row of vaults corroded with salt, where the inscription of Catulus was dis-

* Nardini, lib. v. cap. xiv. Donatus and he are at issue. The division of Rycquius into Arx, Capitolium, and Saxum, does not make his book a bit more clear.

covered. The Athenæum, perhaps, may have been where the prisons and senator's palace now stand. The Tarpeian rock is divided, by the beggars who inhabit the cottages, between the two angles towards the Tiber; the highest is that called Monte Caprino,* behind the gallery of the Conservators' palace; the most abrupt is the corner at the other end of the same Conservators' palace. Which of these two is the actual precipice whence the traitors were thrown, has not been yet resolved. The citadel may be believed to have extended along the whole side of the hill.†

The great capitoline temple was placed by Nardini on the Aracœli; but doubts have again shaken this presumption, and the Feretrian Jupiter has put in his claim to that elevation. An earlier topographer men-

* But, in order to judge of the pretensions of this angle, you must walk up a lane from the Via del Tor de' Specchi, which is called "Via del Rupe Tarpejo," until you come close under the hill, and see the only naked rock observable on the whole mount: a sketch of it is given in Dr. Smith's Dictionary (p. 771). If the ground were cleared away to the ancient level, the rock would be high enough for the old Tarpejan executions; nevertheless, the writer of the article in the Dictionary decides in favour of the other angle, now called popularly the Roccha Tarpeja, overlooking the Janus towards the Tiber. It is very distinctly seen from the Farnese gardens on the Palatine, just above the church of Sta. Maria della Consolazione. Nibby has no doubts on this point; and I confess I think Mr. Dyer's arguments in favour of this view unanswerable.

† Indeed, some of the large stones which served for the bulwarks of the hill on the side of the Monte Caprino were discovered in the time of Vacca, when the whole hill was called the Tarpejan Mount, as we may infer from an inscription of Pope Alexander's time in the church of St. Joseph above the prison.

tions a church of *St. Salvator in Maximis*, looking* towards the west, as occupying the site of the temple, and such a title, if existing now, might aid us in our conjectures. But no such church now remains.

The revolutions of Rome were first felt on this hill. The Sabines, the Gauls, the republicans, the imperialists, the citizens of papal Rome, have all contended for dominion on the same narrow spot. After the repairs of Domitian† it appears that the citadel was lost in a mass of golden-roofed fanes, and the word *Capitol* seems to have been synonymous with the temple.‡ From that time the triumphs and studies of peace were celebrated and pursued amidst the trophies of victory. Poets were crowned with *oaken* wreaths,§ libraries were collected, schools opened, and professors taught rhetoric, from the reign of Hadrian to that of Theodosius the Younger. It is possible that part of the establishment mentioned in a law published by Valentinian III. and Theodosius II. may refer to Constantinople.‖ There were, however, public schools in the Capitol. Three Latin rhetoricians,

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* Fabricius:—"In ea Capitolii parte quæ occasum versus forum Holitorium respicit."—*Descrip. Urb. Roma*, cap. ix. That is, on the side exactly contrary to Aracœli.

† The gilding alone cost 12,000 talents, above two millions and a half sterling. See note 45 to cap. xvi. *Decline and Fall*, tom. ii. p. 413, 8vo.

‡ "Auratum squalet Capitolium."—Hieron. in loco cit. ap. Note to Stanza lxxx.

§ Decline and Fall, cap. lxx. notes 10, 11, tom. xii. p. 327.

‖ Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital., tom. ii. lib. iv. p. 387.

five Greek sophists, ten Latin and ten Greek grammarians, formed a respectable university.

The change of religion bedimmed the glory of the Domitian Capitol, but did not destroy the structures, as Winkelmann heedlessly supposed.* The first despoilment is, however, to be attributed to the piety or rapacity of Stilicho. Genseric is the next recorded plunderer; but Theodoric does not appear to have missed the gilding of the doors, or the tiles of the half uncovered roof of the great temple, or the chain of the goddess Rhea. In his time "the ascent of the *High Capitols* furnished a sight surpassing all that the human imagination could conceive."† How long these wonders were spared is unknown. It is probable that the robbery of the Emperor Constans extended to the ornaments of the capitoline temples; but an antiquary of great note has thought himself able to discover the temple of Jupiter as late as the eighth or ninth century.‡

The hill does not reappear for ages, but seems to have been put to its ancient use, if it be true that the antipope, John, was thrown from the Tarpeian rock at the end of

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* Storia delle Arti, &c., lib. xii. cap. iii. tom. ii. p. 419, note a. He went solely on the words of Saint Jerome, on which Baronius had observed long before, "Verum non sic quidem concidisse affirmat Capitolini Jovis templum, quod dirutum hoc anno fuerit, sed quod ornamentis tantum modo expoliatum."—Annal. Eccles. ad an. 389, tom. vi. p. 51, edit. Lucæ. 1740.

† "Capitolia celsa conscendere hoc est humana ingenia superata vidisse."—Cassiod. Form. comitiv. formar. urbis, lib. vii. p. 113.

‡ Bianchini: but he gives no reason for his conjecture.

the tenth century.* It was again a strong place, and the Corsi family had fortified it, or occupied its fortifications, in the course of the next hundred years. Their houses on the hill were thrown down by the emperor Henry IV. in 1084, and Guiscard soon afterwards levelled whatever remained of the fortress.†

In 1118, however, it was still the place of assembly. The friends of pope Gelasius II. and the *Heads of the regions* are said to have mounted into the Capitol, to rescue him from Cencio Frangipane.‡ In that century the Capitol is crowned with churches, and in the possession of monks. Aracœli and St. John the Baptist, the monastery of the Benedictines (who were settled there by the anti-pope Anaclete II. about 1130 or 1134), some gardens and mean houses and shops had succeeded to the pagan temples and to the feudal towers.§

At the revolution of Arnold of Brescia (1143, 1144), in the same century, the Capitol was naturally selected for the restoration of the senate and the equestrian

* Dissertazione sulle Rovine, p. 330, note A. There seems some doubt here. Muratori, ad an. 998, tom. v. p. 509, is much amused at a story of Peter Damian's, that the anti-pope had his eyes bored out, his ears cut off, and his tongue also cut off, and being then put on an ass, with his face to the tail, which he held in his hand, was paraded about Rome, and obliged to exclaim, "Such is the deserving punishment of him who endeavours to expel the pope of Rome from his seat." Damian tells this, with the exception of the tongue cut out; a Saxon annalist tells it with the exception of the exclamation; so that the joke is only in Muratori's confusion.

† See previous account of the destruction of Roman Remains.

‡ Annali d' Italia, tom. vi. p. 389.

§ Dissertazione, &c., p. 357, 358.

order. The hill became the seat of the revolutionary government, and we find Pope Lucius II., in 1145, repulsed and killed with a stone in an attempt to drive the people from their post.* The rebuilding of the capitoline citadel† was part of the proposed reform, and appears to have been carried, partially at least, into effect. From this period the Capitol resumed something of its importance, and, if those who saw it may be trusted, of its splendour. The people held a consultation there ‡ before they attacked Frederic Barbarossa in 1155.

It appears in the transactions of the subsequent centuries as the centre of the city. The duties and ceremonies of the recovered senate, or senator, were rendered more respectable by being performed on the site of ancient dominion, and whilst the tomb of Hadrian was regarded with jealousy and affright, the tenant of the Capitol was looked upon as the lawful master of Rome. Here Rienzi planted the standard of the good estate—here Petrarch was crowned. The popular assemblies were convoked on this hill. The bell of the great tower was the signal of alarm, and was thought to watch over the new liberties of the Romans. The tolling is often heard in the night of those unhappy ages.

The importance of this station was fatal to the new

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* Annali d' Italia, tom. vi. p. 480.

† "Andava costui (Arnold of Brescia) predicando che si dovea riffabbricare il campidoglio."—Annali d' Italia, tom. vi. p. 481.

‡ Annali, &c., tom. vi. p. 517.

citadel, which, after being frequently assaulted and taken in the quarrels of the barons and the people, and the popes, seems to have lost all appearance of a fortress in the beginning of the fifteenth century. But the people were still summoned to the hill in the tumults which followed the death of King Ladislaus* in 1414, and a house for the tribunals of the senator and his conservators was built upon the ancient enrolment office of Catulus.† Hear what was then the condition of the hill from a Roman, who, after describing its ancient glories, exclaims, "But now, besides the brick-house built for the use of the senator and his assessors by Boniface IX.,‡ and raised upon ruins, and such as an old Roman citizen of moderate fortune would have despised; besides the church of Araceli, belonging to the brothers of the blessed Francis, constructed on the foundation of the temple of the Feretrian Jupiter, there is nothing to be seen on this Capitoline, or Tarpeian mountain, adorned once with so many noble

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* Vendettini. Serie cronologica, &c., p. 75, 76.

† At the angle where the prisons now are a portion of the old structure is still preserved; and a still better specimen may be seen within the doorway immediately leading to the prisons. The portico of the Tabularium is so cased in the modern wall that, although distinctly seen, and one of the few certain remains, it produces less effect than any of the Roman antiquities.

‡ The towers of the Capitol were the work of this Pope, the fortifier of the Castle of St. Angelo; and an inscription under his picture, in the Borgian apartments at the Vatican, boasts of this exploit as the true foundation of the papal power.

edifices." * In this picture of desolation may be inserted the fragments of marble recorded by Poggio, and the cottages which served for the shops of the artisans who frequented the Wednesday market held there, until transferred, in 1477, to the Piazza Navona.†

The present state of the Capitol dates from the pontificate of Paul III. On the establishment of the papal power the castle of St. Angelo was to be the only fortress, and the genius of Michael Angelo was employed to make the ancient citadel not only accessible but inviting.‡ The broad and easy ascent, the façade and steps of the senatorial palace, the lateral edifices have accomplished this object; but they accord ill with our preconceptions of the Roman Capitol. It should, however, be recollected, that although the area may have

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* "Nunc vero præter lateritiam domum a Bonifacio IX. ruinis superædificatam qualem mediocris olim fastidissit Romanus civis usibus senatoris et causidicorum deputatam; præter Aræcœli fratrum beati Franc. ecclesiam in Feretrii Jovis templi fundamentis extructam, nihil habet is Capitolinus Tarpeiusve mons tantis olim ædificiis exornatus."—Flav. Blond. *Rom. Inst.*, lib. i. fol. 10, edit. 1527.

† "Eodem anno et mense essendosi più volte ordinato lo consiglio nel Palazzo de' Conservatori, che si dovesse fare lo mercato di Mercordi nella Piazza di Nagóni, *tamdem* lo mercato fu cominciato alli tredici dio Settembre dello detto anno (1477)."—Steph. Infess. *Diar. Rom. ap. Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. iii. par. ii. p. 1146.

‡ Gregory XIII. added the ornaments on the balustrade — the Castor and Pollux, and horses, which were found in the time of Pius IV., where the synagogue now stands in the Borghetto. Pius IV. supplied the basalt lions. See Vacca, p. 54. Sixtus V. transferred the trophies—absurdly called of Marius—to this spot, and the same pontiff added the two Constantines. Of the two milestones only one is ancient.

been partially levelled, the principal eminence is probably as high as that of the ancient hill. The tops of the buildings below were on a level with the base of the Capitoline structures in the reign of Vitellius, and the ascent was by a hundred steps,* which could hardly rise higher than the 124 steps of the church of Aracœli. Calpurnius, in his seventh eclogue, says that the top of the Coliseum towered above the Tarpeian rock. We can account for that rock appearing less terrific than might be expected, since a large piece of it, as big as a house of ample magnitude,† fell down in the reign of Eugenius IV. The Caffarelli palace and other edifices conceal the form of the summit itself.

Aracœli, whether on the site of the great temple or not, preserves the post which it occupied eight centuries ago. The Benedictines made way for the Franciscans in 1252, and popes and cardinals have been ambitious to contribute to the dignity of the substitute. The corporation, calling itself the Roman People,‡ affected to

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* "Scandentes per conjuncta ædificia: quæ ut in multa pace, in altum edita, solum Capitolii æquabant."—Taciti. Hist., lib. iii. cap. lxii. "Et qua Tarpeja rupes centum gradibus aditur."—Ibid. Probably winding up from the corner under the Monte Caprino. See Smith's Dictionary, art. Rome—"But their exact situation it is impossible to point out" (p. 772). I have elsewhere noticed their supposed site.

† "Rupis Tarpeiæ, cujus pars maxima domus amplæ magnitudinis æquiparanda proximis diebus collapsa est."—Flav. Blond. ibid., lib. ii. fol. 22.

‡ Venuti, Descrizione, &c., di Rom. Mod., tom. ii. p. 341, edit. 1766.

emulate, in behalf of this church, the splendours of Catulus and Domitian, and gilded the whole interior roof, in gratitude for the victory obtained over the Turks in 1571. On the return of Marc Anthony Colonna from the victory of Lepanto, on the 16th of December in that year, he was received in triumph in the Capitol, and Aracœli was the new temple which served, instead of the Jove, Best and Greatest, to receive the vows of the Christian conqueror. The religious community amounted to 400, when the French dispersed them and reduced their treasures to the base of the altar, which Augustus Cæsar erected to the First-born of God, and to the picture of the Virgin painted by St. Luke.* The restored remnant is only a hundred.†

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* Venuti (Descrizione, ibid.) has the grace to say, "Un altare che *pretendesi* eretto da Augusto, col titolo *d' ara Primogeniti Dei.*"

† The festival of their sixth hundredth anniversary was celebrated on the 3rd of October (1842), and the two following days: on that occasion the hundred and twenty-four marble steps of the ascent to Aracœli were blackened with an assemblage as numerous as ever worshipped at the shrine of the Capitoline Jove. The façade of the church itself was decorated with coloured lamps, and the interior of the building was brilliantly illuminated; but the show was rendered still more theatrical by a transparency behind the high altar representing St. Francis as large as life, standing in a golden cloud, amidst a blaze of glory, with angels above and cherubims below, each of them holding his palm and harp, whilst the real musicians praised the saint from behind a laticed tribune in front of the episcopal throne. The spectacle without the church was not rendered more imposing by the retailers of a halfpenny prayer of St. Francis, which, however, found purchasers amongst the highest and most dignified of the worshippers.

The Monte Caprino, behind the conservators' palace, is choked up by dirty cottages, through one of which you are led to look over one of the Tarpeian precipices. The height of the hill on the side of the Forum is rendered more imposing by the clearing away of the soil, which rose to the base of the senatorial palace, and formed a platform of dirt and rubbish, over which carriages are seen driving in the old views of Rome.* As, however, the stranger cannot have the satisfaction of climbing the Capitol by the ancient triumphal road, whose exact position has not been ascertained, he should pay his first visit on the other side, by the modern approach, where the colossal figures and the trophies of Trajan in front, and the equestrian Aurelius† rising before him as he mounts, have an air of ancient grandeur suitable to the sensations inspired by the genius of the place.

TEMPLE OF JUPITER.

The preceding pages referring to the Capitol were, for the most part, written many years ago, and in 1854

* See Descriptio faciei variorum locorum quam prospectum vocant urbis Romæ. Fifteen engravings by Livinus Cruylius, prefixed to the fourth volume of Grævius. See also the Atlas to Count Tournon's volumes on Rome, plates 18, 19.

† The Marcus Aurelius has been placed higher by a single slab of stone since 1843. In the unhappy struggle of 1849 a priest was put on horseback behind the Emperor, and from that absurd position preached to the people. After the shells of the French army had driven the Roman parliament from the palace of the Cancellaria, in 1849, their meetings were held in the great room of the Senator's Palace.

I found that the site of the ancient buildings on that hill was as little decided as in 1817. The controversy respecting the position of the great temple of Jupiter was far from being settled; on the contrary, the German hypothesis, which had removed that important structure from Aracœli to the south-west corner of the Capitoline hill, had been upset by the Italian topographers, and I confess that the learned and candid writer of the article "Rome," in Dr. Smith's Dictionary, seems to me to have demolished Becker's arguments in favour of the Cafarelli height,* although perhaps he has not removed all the objections to the other summit. Indeed, Mr. Dyer, the writer of the article, with a fairness that does him honour and adds weight to his opinions in general, confesses that "the question will not admit of complete demonstration; but," he adds, "we hope that the balance of probability may be shown to predominate very considerably in favour of the north-east height."

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* For example, Becker's reference to the landing of Herdonius, as described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is wholly beside the question, and is moreover founded on a mistranslation of the passage relating to that event in the Greek historian. And the story of the famous Vitellian attack on the Capitol, as told by Tacitus, is completely perverted in order to make it suit the German theory; and Mr. Dyer is fully entitled to exclaim, "Our chief objection to this account is its impossibility." This is true; but I must say at the same time that I do not see how the difficulty in regard to Caligula's bridge is to be got over if the temple stood on Aracœli.

THE VIRGIN TARPEJA.

Several years ago I was much struck by what appeared to me a singular instance of the credulity of scepticism. The great German who has re-written Roman history and deprived us of a good deal of our schoolboy belief, states that he was informed by some girls, the inhabitants of the cottages on the Capitoline hill, that "in the heart of the hill the fair Tarpeja is sitting, covered with gold and jewels, and bound by a spell; that no one, try as he may, can ever find out the way to her, and that the only time she had ever been seen was by the brother of one of the girls." * Now, I have wandered about this famous hill a hundred times, and have been often joined in my way by some of the very guides to whom Niebuhr alludes, yet did I never hear of this living popular legend of the guilt of Tarpeja, or, as the German terms it, "that genuine oral tradition which has kept Tarpeja for five and twenty hundred years in the mouths of the common people;" nor did I ever hear from any one of the professed antiquarian guides of Rome that such a story still might be heard on the Capitoline hill. I am persuaded that some one practised upon the propensity of Niebuhr to believe in such traditions.

Since making this remark I find that our late most learned Chancellor of the Exchequer has entertained

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* History of Rome, vol. i. p. 227, Trans. by Thirlwall.

similar doubts of the existence of the legend. They may be found in his work on the credibility of early Roman history (vol. i., p. 99, note, and p. 425), and also in the pleasing miscellany, called 'Notes and Queries,' in the number for May 2, 1857.* Sir George Lewis took, it seems, the pains to inquire of an intelligent resident at Rome, Dr. Pantaleoni, whose answer to the query concerning the said legend was given in these words: "With respect to the popular legend described by Niebuhr, I have made all possible inquiries through people living in that quarter of the town, and by their profession and character conversant with the lower orders, but I have not discovered any trace of it; and it is certain that I could not have failed in verifying it if it at all deserved the name of popular;" and the Doctor subjoins to this the following remarks: "I may, perhaps, be allowed to add that, even if this tradition were really in existence, I could by no means agree with Niebuhr in supposing it to have been preserved for 2500 years. Almost all the oral traditions of Roman antiquities, which are locally current at Rome, had their origin during the middle ages, and were the fanciful invention of ignorant antiquaries. Thus a medieval tower—the tomb of Nero on the Flaminian road—is shown as the place where Nero was singing during the fire of Rome." Sir George Lewis cites several German stories of dead

* The quotation from Niebuhr, made by Sir G. Lewis, changes the brother into a mother of one of the girls.

emperors and others spell-bound in subterranean abodes, and equally authentic with the enchanted virgin of the Tarpejan rock.

THE MUSEUMS OF THE CAPITOL—THE WOLF.

Ancient Rome, like modern Sienna, abounded most probably with images of the foster-mother of her founder; but there were two she-wolves of whom history makes particular mention. One of these, *of brass in ancient work*, was seen by Dionysius * at the temple of Romulus, under the Palatine, and is universally believed to be that mentioned by Livy as having been made from the money collected by a fine on usurers, and as standing under the Ruminal fig-tree.† The other was that which Cicero ‡ has celebrated both in prose and verse, and

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* Χάλκια ποιήματα παλαιᾶς ἐργασίας.—*Antiq. Rom.*, lib. i.

† "Ad ficum Ruminalem simulacra infantium conditorum urbis sub uberibus lupæ posuerunt."—Liv. *Hist.*, lib. x. cap. lxix. This was in the year U. C. 455, or 457.

‡ "Tum statua Nattæ, tum simulacra Deorum, Romulusque et Remus cum altrice bellua vi fulminis icti conciderunt."—*De Divinat.*, ii. 20. "Tactus est ille etiam qui hanc urbem condidit Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactantem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem fuisse meministis."—In Catilin. iii. 8.

> "Hic silvestris erat Romani nominis altrix
> Martia, quæ parvos Mavortis semine natos
> Uberibus gravidis vitali rore rigebat
> Quæ tum cum pueris flammato fulminis ictu
> Concidit, atque avulsa pedum vestigia liquit."
>
> *De Consulatu*, lib. ii. (lib. i. de divinat. cap. ii.)

which the historian Dion also records as having suffered the same accident as is alluded to by the orator.* The question agitated by the antiquaries is, whether the wolf now in the conservators' palace is that of Livy and Dionysius, or that of Cicero, or whether it is neither one nor the other. The earlier writers differ as much as the moderns: Lucius Faunus† says that it is the one alluded to by both, which is impossible, and also by

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* Ἐν γὰρ τῷ καπητωλιῳ ἀνδριάντες τὲ πολλοὶ ὑπὸ κεραυνῶν συνεχωνεύθησαν, καὶ ἀγάλματα ἄλλα τε, καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κίονος ἱδρυμένου, εἰκών τέ τις λυκαίνης σὺν τε τῷ Ῥώμῳ καὶ σύν τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ ἱδρυμένη ἔπεσε. Dion. Hist., lib. xxxvii. p. 37, edit. Rob. Steph. 1548. He goes on to mention that the letters of the columns on which the laws were written were liquified and become ἀμυδρὰ. All that the Romans did was to erect a large statue to Jupiter, looking towards the east: no mention is afterwards made of the wolf. This happened in A. U. C. 689. The Abate Fea, in noticing this passage of Dion (Storia delle Arti, &c., tom. i. p. 202, note x.), says, "Non ostante, aggiunge Dione, che fosse ben fermata" (the wolf), by which it is clear the Abate translated the Xylandro-Leuclavian version, which puts *quamvis stabilita* for the original ἱδρυμένη, a word that does not mean *ben-fermata*, but only *established*, as may be distinctly seen from another passage of the same Dion—Ἠβουλήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸν Αὔγουστον ἐνταῦθα ἱδρύσαι. *Hist.* lib. lvi. Dion says that Agrippa "wished *to establish a statue* of Augustus in the Pantheon."

† "In eadem porticu ænea lupa, cujus uberibus Romulus ac Remus lactantes inhiant, conspicitur: de hac Cicero et Virgilius semper intellexere. Livius hoc signum ab Ædilibus ex pecuniis quibus mulctati essent fœneratores, positum innuit. Antea in Comitiis ad Ficum Ruminalem, quo loco pueri fuerant expositi locatum pro certo est."—Luc. Fauni, *de Antiq. Urb. Rom.*, lib. ii. cap. vii. ap. Sallengre, tom.. i p. 217.

Virgil, which may be. Fulvius Ursinus* calls it the wolf of Dionysius, and Marlianus† talks of it as the one mentioned by Cicero. To him Rycquius *tremblingly* assents.‡ Nardini is inclined to suppose it may be one of the many wolves preserved in ancient Rome; but of the two rather bends to the Ciceronian statue.§ Montfaucon‖ mentions it as a point without doubt. Of the latter writers the decisive Winkelmann¶ proclaims it as having been found at the church of Saint Theodore, where, or near where, was the temple of Romulus, and consequently makes it the wolf of Dionysius. His authority is Lucius Faunus, who, however, only says that it *was placed*, not *found*, at the Ficus Ruminalis by the Comitium,** by which he does not seem to allude to the church of Saint Theodore. Rycquius was the

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* Ap. Nardini Roma Vetus, lib. v. cap. iv.

† Marliani. Urb. Rom. topograph., lib. ii. cap. ix. He mentions another wolf and twins in the Vatican, lib. v. cap. xxi.

‡ "Non desunt qui hanc ipsam esse putent, quam adpinximus, quæ è comitio in Basilicam Lateranam, cum nonnullis aliis antiquitatum reliquiis, atque hinc in Capitolium postea relata sit, quamvis Marlianus antiquam Capitolinam esse maluit a Tullio descriptam, cui ut in re nimis dubia, trepidè adsentimur."—Just. Rycquii *de Capit. Roman. Comm.*, cap. xxiv. p. 250, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1696.

§ Nardini Roma Vetus, lib. v. cap. iv.

‖ "Lupa hodieque in capitolinis prostat ædibus, cum vestigio fulminis quo ictam narrat Cicero."—*Diarium Italic.*, tom. i. p. 174.

¶ Storia delle Arti, &c., lib. iii. cap. iii. § ii. note 10. Winkelmann has made a strange blunder in the note, by saying the Ciceronian wolf was *not* in the Capitol, and that Dion was wrong in saying so.

** Luc. Fauni, *ib.*, chap. xvii.

first to make the mistake, and Winkelmann followed Rycquius.

Flaminius Vacca tells quite a different story, and says he had heard the wolf with the twins was found* near the arch of Septimius Severus. The commentator on Winkelmann is of the same opinion with that learned person, and is incensed at Nardini for not having remarked that Cicero, in speaking of the wolf struck with lightning in the Capitol, makes use of the past tense. But, with the Abate's leave, Nardini does not positively assert the statue to be that mentioned by Cicero, and, if he had, the assumption would not perhaps have been so exceedingly indiscreet. The Abate himself is obliged to own that there are marks very like the scathing of lightning in the hinder legs of the present wolf; and, to get rid of this, adds that the wolf seen by Dionysius might have been also struck by lightning, or otherwise injured.

Let us examine the subject by a reference to the words of Cicero. The orator in two places seems to particularize the Romulus and the Remus, especially the first, which his audience remembered to *have been* in the Capitol, as being struck with lightning. In his

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* "Intesi dire, che l' Ercolo di bronzo, che oggi si trova nella Sala di Campidoglio, fu trovato nel foro Romano appresso l' arco di Settimio; e vi fu trovata anche la lupa di bronzo che allata Romolo e Remo, e stà nella Loggia de' conservatori."—Vacca, *Memorie*, num. iii. p. 1, *ap. Montfaucon dia. Ital.*

verses he records that the twins and wolf both fell, and that the latter left behind the marks of her feet. Cicero does not say that the wolf was consumed; and Dion only mentions that it fell down, without alluding, as the Abate has made him, to the force of the blow, or the firmness with which it had been fixed. The whole strength, therefore, of the Abate's argument hangs upon the past tense; which, however, may be somewhat diminished by remarking that the phrase only shows that the statue was not then standing in its former position. Winkelmann has observed that the present twins are modern; and it is equally clear that there are marks of gilding on the wolf, which might therefore be supposed to make part of the ancient group. It is known that the sacred images of the Capitol were not destroyed when injured by time or accident, but were put into certain underground depositaries called *favissæ*.* It may be thought possible that the wolf had been so deposited, and had been replaced in some conspicuous situation when the Capitol was rebuilt by Vespasian. Rycquius, without mentioning his authority, tells that it was transferred from the Comitium to the Lateran, and thence brought to the Capitol. If it was found near the arch of Severus, it may have been one of the images which Orosius† says was thrown down in the Forum by lightning when Alaric took the city.

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* Luc. Faun. ibid.

† See previous notice of the Destruction of Roman Remains.

That it is of very high antiquity the workmanship is a decisive proof; and that circumstance induced Winkelmann to believe it the wolf of Dionysius. The Capitoline wolf, however, may have been of the same early date as that at the temple of Romulus. Lactantius* asserts that in his time the Romans worshipped a wolf; and it is known that the Lupercalia held out to a very late period† after every other observance of the ancient superstition had totally expired. This may account for the preservation of the ancient image longer than the other early symbols of Paganism.

It may be permitted, however, to remark that the wolf was a Roman symbol, but that the worship of that symbol is an inference drawn by the zeal of Lactantius. The early Christian writers are not to be trusted in the charges which they make against the

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* "Romuli nutrix Lupa honoribus est affecta divinis, et ferrem si animal ipsum fuisset, cujus figuram gerit" (Lactant. *de Falsa Religione*, lib. i. cap. xx. p. 101, edit. varior. 1660); that is to say, he would rather adore a wolf than a prostitute. His commentator has observed that the opinion of Livy concerning Laurentia being figured in this wolf was not universal. Strabo thought so. Rycquius is wrong in saying that Lactantius mentions the wolf was in the Capitol.

† To A.D. 496. "Quis credere possit," says Baronius (*Ann. Eccle.* tom. viii. p. 602, in an. 496), "viguisse adhuc Romæ ad Gelasii tempora, quæ fuere ante exordia urbis allata in Italiam Lupercalia?" Gelasius wrote a letter, which occupies four folio pages, to Andromachus, the senator, and others, to show that the rites should be given up.

Pagans. Eusebius accused the Romans to their faces of worshipping Simon Magus, and raising a statue to him in the island of the Tiber. The Romans had probably never heard of such a person before, who came, however, to play a considerable, though scandalous part in the church history, and has left several tokens of his aerial combat with St. Peter at Rome, notwithstanding that an inscription found in this very island of the Tiber showed the Simon Magus of Eusebius to be a certain indigenal god, called Semo Sangus or Fidius.*

Even when the worship of the founder of Rome had been abandoned it was thought expedient to humour the habits of the good matrons of the city by sending them with their sick infants to the church of Saint Theodore, as they had before carried them to the temple of Romulus.† The practice is continued to this day; and the site of the above church seems to

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* Eusebius has these words,—*καὶ ἀνδριάντι παρ' ὑμῖν ὡς θεὸς, τετίμηται, ἐν τῷ Τίβερι ποταμῷ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο γεφυρῶν, ἔχων ἐπιγραφὴν ῥωμαϊκὴν ταύτην Σίμωνι θέῳ Σαγκτῳ.—Ecclesi. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. xiii. p. 40. Justin Martyr had told the story before; but Baronius himself was obliged to detect this fable.—See Nardini *Roma Vet.* lib. vii. cap. xii.

† "In essa gli antichi pontefici per toglier la memoria de' giuochi Lupercali istituiti in onore di Romolo, introdussero l' uso di portarvi Bambini oppressi da infermità occulte, acciò si liberino per l' intercessione di questo Santo, come di continuo si sperimenta."—Rione xii. Ripa—accurata e succinta descrizione, &c., di Roma Moderna dell' Ab. Ridolf. Venuti, 1766.

be thereby identified with that of the temple; so that if the wolf had been really found there, as Winkelmann says, there would be no doubt of the present statue being that seen by Dionysius.* But Faunus, in saying that it was at the Ficus Ruminalis by the Comitium, is only talking of its ancient position as recorded by Pliny; and even if he had been remarking where it was found, would not have alluded to the church of Saint Theodore, but to a very different place, near which it was then thought the Ficus Ruminalis had been, and also the Comitium,† that is, the three columns by the church of Santa Maria Liberatrice, at the corner of the Palatine looking on the Forum.

It is, in fact, a mere conjecture where the image was actually dug up; and perhaps, on the whole, the marks of the gilding and of the lightning are a better argument in favour of its being the Ciceronian wolf

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* Nardini, lib. v. cap. xi., convicts Pomponius Lætus *crassi erroris*, in putting the Ruminal fig-tree at the church of St. Theodore; but as Livy says the wolf was at the Ficus Ruminalis, and Dionysius at the temple of Romulus, he is obliged (cap. iv.) to own that the two were close together as well as the Lupercal cave, shaded, as it were, by the fig-tree.

† "Ad comitium ficus olim Ruminalis germinabat, sub qua lupæ rumam, hoc est, mammam, docente Varrone, suxerant olim Romulus et Remus; non procul a templo hodie D. Mariæ Liberatricis appellato ubi *forsan* inventa nobilis illa ænea statua lupæ geminos pueruloś lactantis, quam hodie in capitolio videmus."—Olai Borrichii *Antiqua Urbis Romana facies*, cap. x.; see also cap. xii. Borrichius wrote after Nardini in 1687.—*Ap. Grœv. Antiq. Rom.* tom. iv. p. 1522.

than any that can be adduced for the contrary opinion. At any rate, it is one of the most interesting relics of the ancient city,* and is certainly the figure, if not the very animal, to which Virgil alludes in his beautiful verses:

> "Geminos huic ubera circum
> Ludere pendentes pueros et lambere matrem
> Impavidos: illam tereti cervice reflexam
> Mulcere alternos, et fingere corpora lingua." †

THE CONSERVATORS' PALACE.

The Conservators' palace exhibits vestiges of the reform of Arnold of Brescia, and of his re-established senate. In apartments contiguous to that which contains the old Fasti, the modern series of inglorious magistrates is ranged, in humble imitation of the venerable list of ancient conquerors and triumphs.‡ The initials of the modern title are so given that what must be read *Conservators* looks like Consuls. It does not seem to be known at what precise period the modern senate of Rome diminished from a council, §

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* Donatus, lib. xi. cap. 18, gives a medal representing on one side the wolf in the same position as that in the Capitol; and in the reverse the wolf with the head not reverted. It is of the time of Antoninus Pius.

† Æn. viii. 631. See Dr. Middleton, in his Letter from Rome, who inclines to the Ciceronian wolf, but without examining the subject.

‡ See Dissertazione sulle Rovine, &c., p. 410, ad fin.

§ See Serie Cronologica de' Senatori di Roma dal Conte Antonio Vendettini in Roma, 1778.

which at one time amounted to fifty-six persons, to a single magistrate; nor does it appear, that after that reduction the government of the city was invariably trusted to one alone.* The senate, in the modern sense, was an office exercised by one or more persons for a term which was at first annual; and we read of this senate long after the duties had been exercised by an individual.† Notwithstanding the re-establishment dates from 1143, the chronological series does not begin before the year 1220 with Parenzio Parenzi. The names for the next year will sound powerfully to our ears—

1221, HANNIBAL AND NAPOLEON.

Napoleon of the Orsi is a frequent name in the early fasti. The chief magistrate was assisted by three assessors, to administer criminal and civil justice; but the next in dignity and power to *those* or to *him* who composed the senate were the three Conservators; and in addition to these the same list contains the names of the Capo-Rioni, who are often enrolled with the Conservators. There were Marshals also, of whom one is recorded, and Præfects, or Notaries of the præfec-

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* "E primieramente vediamo dall' elenco medesimo che i Senatori ora erano più, ora un solo, e prima di questo tempo or uno or due."—Vendett. loc. citat.

† His title was *Illustris* first, and then *Illustrissimus*, with the addition *Dei gratia*.

ture. In an interregnum, or during the absence of the senators, the Conservators exercised the functions, unless they were entrusted to those who, under various names of Reformers of the Roman republic, Chamberlains, Good men, Deputies of the people, supplied the place of the regular government, and were sometimes dependent on the *bene placitum* of the Pope, sometimes derived their authority from the people.

The law by which an alien alone could be chosen for senator does not apply to those first on the list, who are specified as Romans, nor did it constantly obtain, in subsequent periods, until the reform of the statutes in 1580.

When Brancaleone was elected, in 1252, this was the usage, but in the next century the office was divided frequently between the Colonna and Orsini. Muratori* mentions that the custom of choosing foreigners for magistrates was introduced into Italy before the year 1180. The choice of foreign arbitrators in the controversies of states and princes seems to have been the fashion of the thirteenth century. Thus the English referred to Philip of France; thus the kings of France and Arragon, and other princes—the Scotch for instance—submitted their claims to the judgment of King Edward I.†

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* Dissertazione sopra le antichità Ital. diss. xlvi. p. 67, tom. iii.

† See Hume, Hist. of England, Edw. I. cap. xiii.

The ancient statutes have been traced back to the year 1364.

Every vestige of the popular government* which those statutes were meant to preserve has been gradually abolished, and the Senate and Roman people, after nearly seven centuries of feeble, dubious existence, are now at their last gasp.

The pageant, however, remains. The three Conservators act certain parts in certain ceremonies: they stand on the second step of the papal throne, and they have a right to carry the sacramental vessels between the high altar and his holiness on Easter Sunday. The Senator of Rome bears a still more conspicuous part in these scenes of humiliation. When the Pope pontificates, the Senator stands amidst a seated assembly, but stands at the right hand of the hierarch, on a level with the throne, and a step above the Conservators. His cloak of golden brocade, and his depending rolls of borrowed hair, suit well with the meek ministerial attitude of the gentleman-usher; but they are dwindled into nothing amidst the purple of the cardinals and the seven-fold robes of the holy

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* For a short account of the statutes and government of Rome, see the Decline and Fall, cap. lxx. p. 380, tom. xii. oct. What has been said above was inserted merely in explanation of the modern Fasti Consulares. The civil and criminal justice of Rome previously to the French revolution was esteemed, and with reason, the most iniquitous in Italy.

father: even his patient resignation is obscured by the incense and awful bustle of that pious pantomime.

The half-starved porters of the Campidoglio make their boast to strangers that their Senator is placed for life, and cannot be degraded from his office, even by the Pope himself. But the pontiffs have shown their conviction of his impotence by dispensing with the statute which enacted that no one but an alien could be chosen. Pius VII. did not think it expedient to nominate a relation, as Rezzonico had done, but gave the idle title to the young Patrizzi, the representative of a noble Siennese family transplanted to Rome.*

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* The successor of Patrizzi was Prince Corsini, but he claimed certain privileges which the Pope thought fit to refuse; and Altieri, another Roman prince, was called to the unimportant dignity. He has, or rather is, a tribunal of his own. He and his assessors take cognisance of various matters, both civil and criminal. He can condemn to imprisonment and to the galleys, and might condemn to death, but he never exercises that power. The Jews are under his peculiar authority. They swear and pay tribute to him on the first day of carnival, in the Capitol. He and the four conservators sometimes sit together on days of ceremony, but rarely on official occasions. The conservators have a court of their own. They superintend the public spectacles, and several minor affairs, such as the care of small debts, in Rome itself; and over four towns, of which Cora is chief, containing altogether about 20,000 souls, they have absolute authority, including the power of life and death, but with appeal in that case to the Pope. In one of the rooms of the Capitoline palace, the conservators, with the caporioni and other subordinate magistrates, hold their sittings in chairs, and at a table as worn out and decayed as their own authority; and the next change will probably deprive them of all the remains of their ancient power. Cardinal

The eloquent initials of the S. P. Q. R. are still to be seen multiplied on all the escutcheons and inscriptions of the modern city; and the same ambitious formula has been imitated by the little tributary towns of the pontifical state. We read, on the stuccoed gateway at Tivoli, of a modern "Senate, and Tiburtine People."

THE GLADIATOR.*

Whether the gladiator of the Capitol be a laquearian gladiator, which in spite of Winkelmann's criticism has been stoutly maintained,† or whether it be a Greek

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Consalvi contemplated that consummation. Pius VII. visited the Capitol only at the feast of Araceli. Leo XII. never deigned to ascend it once during his whole reign (1828).

* "A most beautiful and precious work, and of peculiar interest, as bringing so forcibly into evidence the power which the art of statuary may possess of touching the heart."—Bell, *Observations on Italy*, p. 96, edit. 1834. The whole description of this great work by the anatomist is very masterly.

The Gladiator has been thought to belong to the same group as the Arria and Petus, or Gaul killing his wife, in the Ludovisi collection; and the whole group was conjectured to have been contained in the pediment of a temple erected at Delphi to commemorate the flight of the Gauls. It ought to be recollected that the name of Gladiator was often given to statues of warriors: the Atreus with the son of Thyestes was formerly so called, as we find by the memorials of Aldroandi, p. 18, in the Miscellanea of Fea.

† By the Abate Bracci, in his "Dissertazione sopra un clipeo votivo" (Preface, p. 7), who accounts for the cord round the neck, but not for the horn which it does not appear the gladiators ever used.—Note A, *Storia delle Arti*, tom. ii. p. 205.

herald, as that great antiquary positively asserted,* or whether it is to be thought a Spartan or Barbarian shield-bearer, according to the opinion of his Italian editor,† it must assuredly seem *a copy* of that masterpiece of Ctesilaus which represented "a wounded man dying who perfectly expressed what there remained of life in him."‡ Montfaucon § and Maffei ‖ thought it the identical statue; but that statue was of bronze. The Gladiator was once in the villa Ludovisi, and was bought by Clement XII. The right-arm is an entire restoration by Michael Angelo.¶

Gladiators were of two kinds, compelled and voluntary, and were supplied from several conditions: from slaves sold for that purpose; from culprits; from Barbarian captives, either taken in war, and, after being led in triumph, set apart for the games, or those seized and condemned as rebels; also from free citizens, some fighting for hire (*auctorati*), others from a depraved

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* Either Polifontes, herald of Laius, killed by Œdipus; or Cepreas, herald of Euritheus, killed by the Athenians when he endeavoured to drag the Heraclidæ from the altar of mercy, and in whose honour they instituted annual games, continued to the time of Hadrian; or Anthemocritus, the Athenian herald, killed by the Megarenses, who never recovered the impiety. See *Storia delle Arti*, &c., tom. ii. pp. 203-207, lib. ix. cap. ii.

† Storia, &c., tom. ii. p. 207, note A.

‡ "Vulneratum deficientem fecit in quo possit intelligi quantum restat animæ."—Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, lib. xxxiv. cap. viii.

§ Antiq., tom. iii. par. ii. tab. 155.

‖ Racc. stat. tab. 64.

¶ Mus. Capitol., tom. iii. p. 154, edit. 1755.

ambition: at last even knights and senators were exhibited, a disgrace of which the first tyrant was naturally the first inventor.* In the end, dwarfs, and even women, fought; an enormity prohibited by Severus. Of these, the most to be pitied undoubtedly were the Barbarian captives; and to this species a Christian writer† justly applies the epithet "*innocent*," to distinguish them from the professional gladiators. Aurelian and Claudius supplied great numbers of these unfortunate victims; the one after his triumph, and the other on the pretext of a rebellion.‡ No war, says Lipsius,§ was ever so destructive to the human race as these sports.

In spite of the laws of Constantine and Constans, gladiatorial shows survived the old established religion more than seventy years; but they owed their final extinction to the courage of a Christian. In the year 404, on the kalends of January, they were exhibiting

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* Julius Cæsar, who rose by the fall of the aristocracy, brought Furius Leptinus and A. Calenus upon the arena; but our English poet has adopted a common mistake in saying that he forced a knight upon the stage; the truth is, he made Laberius, who was an actor, a knight, not a knight an actor.

† Tertullian, "certe quidem et innocentes gladiatores in ludum veniunt, ut voluptatis publicæ hostiæ fiant."—Just. Lips. *Saturn. Sermon.*, lib. ii. cap. iii.

‡ Vopiscus. in Vit. Aurel. and in Vit. Claud., ibid.

§ "Credo, immo scio, nullum bellum tantam cladem vastitiemque generi humano intulisse, quam hos ad voluptatem ludos."—Just. Lips. ibid. lib. i. cap. xii.

the shows in the Flavian amphitheatre before the usual immense concourse of people. Almachius or Telemachus, an eastern monk, who had travelled to Rome intent on his holy purpose, rushed into the midst of the area, and endeavoured to separate the combatants. The prætor Alypius, a person incredibly attached to these games,* gave instant orders to the gladiators to slay him; and Telemachus gained the crown of martyrdom, and the title of saint, which surely has never either before or since been awarded for a more noble exploit. Honorius immediately abolished the shows, which were never afterwards revived. The story is told by Theodoret† and Cassiodorus,‡ and seems worthy of credit notwithstanding its place in the Roman martyrology.§ Besides the torrents of blood which flowed at the funerals, in the amphitheatres, the circus, the forums, and other public places, gladiators were introduced at feasts, and tore each other to pieces amidst the supper tables, to the great delight and applause of the guests.

Yet Lipsius permits himself to suppose the loss of courage, and the evident degeneracy of mankind, to

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* Augustinus (lib. vi. confess. cap. viii.) "Alypium suum gladiatrii spectaculi inhiatu incredibiliter abreptum," scribit. ib lib. i. cap. xii.

† Hist. Eccles. cap. xxvi. lib. v.

‡ Cassiod. Tripartita. l. x. c. xi. Saturn. ib. ib.

§ Baronius ad ann. et in notis ad Martyrol. Rom. 1. Jan. See Marangoni Delle memorie sacre e profane dell' Anfiteatro Flavio, p. 25, edit. 1746.

be nearly connected with the abolition of these bloody spectacles.*

When one gladiator wounded another he shouted, "*He has it!*" "Hoc habet" or "Habet," the wounded combatant dropped his weapon, and advancing to the edge of the arena, supplicated the spectators. If he had fought well, the people saved him; if otherwise, or as they happened to be inclined, they turned down their thumbs and he was slain. They were occasionally so savage that they were impatient if a combat lasted longer than ordinary without wounds or death. The emperor's presence generally saved the vanquished: and it is recorded as an instance of Caracalla's ferocity, that he sent those who supplicated him for life, in a spectacle at Nicomedia, to ask the people; in other words, handed them over to be slain. A similar ceremony is observed at the Spanish bull-fights. The magistrate presides; and after the horsemen and piccadores have fought the bull, the matadore steps forward and bows to him for permission to kill the animal. If the bull has done his duty by killing two or three horses, or a man, which last is rare, the people interfere with

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* "Quod? non tu Lipsi momentum aliquod habuisse censes ad virtutem? Magnum. Tempora nostra, nosque ipsos videamus. Oppidum ecce unum alterumve captum, direptum est; tumultus circa nos, non in nobis: et tamen concidimus et turbamur. Ubi robur, ubi tot per annos meditata sapientiæ studia? ubi ille animus qui possit dicere, *si fractus illabatur orbis?*" &c., *ibid.* lib. ii. cap. xxv. The prototype of Mr. Windham's panegyric on bull-baiting.

shouts, the ladies wave their handkerchiefs, and the animal is saved. The wounds and death of the horses are accompanied with the loudest acclamations, and many gestures of delight, especially from the female portion of the audience, including those of the gentlest blood. Everything depends on habit.

Lord Byron, myself, and one or two other Englishmen, who had certainly in other days borne the sight of a pitched battle, were, during the summer of 1809, in the governor's box at the great amphitheatre of Santa Maria, opposite to Cadiz. The death of one or two horses completely satisfied their curiosity. A gentleman present, observing us shudder and look pale, noticed that unusual reception of so delightful a sport to some young ladies, who stared and smiled, and continued their applauses as another horse fell bleeding to the ground. One bull killed three horses. He was saved by acclamations which were redoubled when it was known he belonged to a priest.

An Englishman who can be much pleased with seeing two men beat themselves to pieces, cannot bear to look at a horse galloping round an arena with his bowels trailing on the ground, and turns from the spectacle and the spectators with horror and disgust.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

It is possible to be a very great man and to be still very inferior to Julius Cæsar, the most complete cha-

racter, so Lord Bacon thought, of all antiquity. Nature seems incapable of such extraordinary combinations as composed his versatile capacity, which was the wonder even of the Romans themselves. The first general—the only triumphant politician—inferior to none in eloquence—comparable to any in the attainments of wisdom, in an age made up of some of the greatest commanders, statesmen, orators and philosophers that ever appeared in the world—an author who composed a perfect specimen of military annals in his travelling carriage—at one time in a controversy with Cato, at another writing a treatise on punning, and collecting a set of good sayings—fighting and making love at the same moment,* and willing to abandon both his empire and his mistress for a sight of the Fountains

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* Sanguine Thessalicæ cladis perfusus adulter
Admisit Venerem curis, et miscuit armis.
Lucan. *Phar.* 10.

After feasting with his mistress he sits up all night to converse with the Ægyptian sages, and tells Achoreus,

Spes sit mihi certa videndi
Niliacos fontes, bellum civile relinquam.
" Sic velut in tuta securi pace trahebant
Noctis iter medium."

Immediately afterwards he is fighting again and defending every position.

" Sed adest defensor ubique
Cæsar et hos aditus gladiis, hos ignibus arcet
. . . . . cœca nocte carinis
Insiluit Cæsar semper feliciter usus
Præcipiti cursu bellorum et tempore rapto."

of the Nile. Such did Julius Cæsar appear to his contemporaries and to those of the subsequent ages, who were the most inclined to deplore and execrate his fatal genius.

But we must not be so much dazzled with his surpassing glory or with his magnanimous, his amiable qualities, as to forget the decision of his impartial countryman:—

HE WAS JUSTLY SLAIN.*

BUSTS AND STATUES.

The head of Julius Cæsar in the Capitoline Museum is not considered authentic; but the head of the statue in the porch of the Conservators' palace is better than the bust in the Museum, and more like the portrait on the small bronze coin of that wonderful man.† Of the several busts and statues of emperors, statesmen, and

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* "Prægravant tamen cetera facta dictaque ejus, ut et abusus dominatione, et jure cæsus existimetur," says Suetonius after a fair estimation of his character, and making use of a phrase which was a formula in Livy's time. "Melium jure cæsum pronuntiavit, etiam si regni crimine insons fuerit" [lib. iv. cap. 48]; and which was continued in the legal judgments pronounced in justifiable homicides, such as killing housebreakers. See Sueton. in vit. C. J. Cæsar. with the commentary of Pitiscus, p. 184. Dr. Arnold, however, comes to a very different conclusion; and, certainly, it must be confessed that the Romans gained nothing by the death of Cæsar. The Emperor Louis Napoleon was right in saying that (1858).

† Unico ritratto riconosciuto di quel grande uomo che esiste in Roma.—*Itin. di Roma* da A. Nibby, p. 136.

philosophers in this Museum, the most interesting are, with a few exceptions, the most authentic. Of M. Aurelius, Titus, and Trajan, there can be no doubt. But the sitting Agrippina is accounted doubtful. The Cicero is not allowed to be the great orator himself, he has not the long neck, an indispensable requisite; but the portrait is that of a very old man, and as the head and shoulders do not belong to each other, the shortness of the neck is not a conclusive objection. Whoever the original was he had many busts taken of him, and the portraits were well known in old Rome.

The Scipio Africanus is admitted to be the real hero. Besides the scar on the skull, the bust has other pretensions to authenticity. It resembles much the Scipio in the Herculanean painting which represents his interview with Sophonisba. His cast of countenance was very well known in the latter days of Rome, for the younger Gordian was reckoned to be a strong likeness of him. In the Pallavicini gallery there is a black Scipio with two scars on his skull.

The Galba has too much hair on his head, unless, like some modern monarchs, that emperor chose to be represented full curled when he was notoriously bald. The soldier who cut off his head, could not find a single lock of hair, but was obliged to put his finger into his mouth in order to carry the head to Otho. The Nerva is a modern bust, and a very good one. The Marcus Brutus is thought to have the projecting lips of the patriot, but is by no means of unquestioned authenticity.

The Marius, a statue, is a mere gratuitous baptism. Alexander the Great is not a certainty, his coins are so common that the sculptor who wanted to make a resemblance could scarcely fail, but this bust is not a strong likeness.

Of the Greek busts it is sufficient that many passed for portraits in ancient times, although some are notorious forgeries. The Plato is a bearded Bacchus. The Homers are all copies of the same traditional portrait. The Pindar is a Sophocles, or the Sophocles is a Pindar, for they are both the same. Some of the statues still preserve the name once given to them, although now understood to be incorrect. The Philosopher having been once called Zeno still retains that name. The Mercury, also, is still called Antinous. The Venus and Mars, probably portraits, are Vetturia and Coriolanus. According to the former fashion of giving Roman names to Grecian groups, the so-called Faun of Praxiteles, the Cupid either of Myron or Praxiteles, so often copied, the Boy and the Goose, the Boy and the Mask, both mentioned by Pliny; the two statues of Amazons,—all of these, beautiful as they are, are but copies from the bronze originals.

THE CAPITOLINE MUSEUMS.

The Amazons were in the vestibule of the Temple of Ephesus. The real Greek Amazons were never represented with only one breast, a fable for which, I

believe, no higher authority can be quoted than that of Justin.*

The reliefs on the sarcophagi generally represent the same set of subjects as appear to have been favourites with the ancients, and to have been ready made for any purchaser: such as the "Boar Hunt," Diana and Endymion, the Battle of the Amazons. One of these in the Sala del Fauno, is evidently the copy of some excellent original; nothing can be more striking or correct than the design, especially of the captives on the rim of the cover, but the workmanship is of very inferior quality.

In this Museum, as at the Vatican, everything is ancient. The statues are raised on pedestals which are, themselves, sepulchral cippi, or inscribed marbles. The Antinous stands on a stone which contained the ashes of a freed woman in the family of Tiberius Cæsar, whose beauty and accomplishments are extolled in a long epitaph not altogether worthy of the Augustan age; the name was Claudia Homonæa. The stone on which the Faun stands contains an inscription to a certain Petronius: Nobilitatis culmini—Litterarum et eloquentiae fulmini—Auctoritatis Exemplo—Provisionum et dispositionum magistro—Humanitatis—Devotionis, &c. This prodigy was Proconsul of Africa in the reign of Valens; whose bust in another room is worthy of the style of

* But the Amazons checked the growth of the right breast. See Grote's Hist. of Greece, chap. xi. p. 292, *note*.

the panegyric; compare it with the inscription on Scipio Barbatus, or Scipio Asiaticus: "HE SUBDUED KING ANTIOCHUS." It may be remarked that, besides other tokens of barbarism, the Petronian eulogy gives us something like the jingle of rhyme.

The antiquities of the Conservators' palace if they were all authentic, would be the most interesting of Roman remains. The Fasti Consulares have, since my first visit, received some small additions, and a large record of the merit of Pius VII. in placing them there. In one of the fragments Mark Antony is called Triumvir. The imperial fragments were found at the Sapienza. But many of the names given to the marbles and bronzes in this quarter of the Capitol are more than questionable. The Duillian column is modern, and the fragments of inscriptions on it are copies; the colossal bronze fragments, said to belong to a statue of Commodus, are not certainly his. The Geese called the saviours of the Capitol may be ancient, but they look like ducks. The Boy extracting the thorn is not what it is called, the Shepherd Martius; the bronze Junius Brutus is a baptism; the Cæsar is a forgery; so are the Appius Claudius, the Mithridates, the Ariadne, the Sappho, the Virgil, the Cicero, and the Poppæa. No such uncertainty attaches to the collection of modern worthies in the Protomoteca, many of them removed from the Pantheon; but most of the recent busts were supplied by the munificence of Canova.

The name PROTOMOTECA, and the regulations under

which admission may be obtained into this Temple of Fame, written in old Latin (*e. g.* siet for sit), are sufficiently pedantic; but there is nothing very classical in the guardians of this repository, for they are no other than the Conservators of Rome, assisted by the various academies, and referring to the final decision of his Holiness for the time being. One of the rules lays down that none but those notoriously possessed of a genius of the first order, and none but the dead, shall have a place in the collection—yet the busts seemed to me to have increased exceedingly since 1822—and if such men as Sterne, the architect of the Braccio Nuovo (though he had much merit) are to be admitted, another room will soon be wanted for the reception of these memorials. The law against admitting the living was violated for the sake of the sovereign, for Leo XII. was already there in 1828.

The modern Romans at one time declared that flattery of the living was infamous; but they repented of their decree, and having removed the stone on which it was inscribed, replaced it by a milder sentence, denouncing only those who, WITHOUT GOOD CAUSE, should propose to receive a statue to a reigning pope or his relations. The sufficing reason included the enlargement of the papal dominions, the service of the people, or *any other exploit* above the common, by which the great man of the day might appear to have deserved to be remembered by posterity. Since the Senate and Roman people of 1634 relented from their former stern severity, more

than 200 years have elapsed, and not one sovereign has ruled them whose good deeds might not, by his contemporary Conservators and Academies, be allowed to have done something above the common run of kings.

This is the inscription :—

Quod in malâs adulatorum artes sancitum erat, id ne civibus de republica præter morem meritis officiat, atque adeo in ingrati animi vitium ducat assentationis fuga—Visum est Senatui Populoque Romano assentiente Principe vetus decretum æqua ratione moderari, atque amoto lapideo decreti monumento aliud his consignatum verbis reponere.

Infamiæ nota inurendos tantummodo eos atque a publicis officiis removendos qui sine causa maximum reipub. commodum respiciente de erigendis statuis aut insignibus viventi Principi aut Princip. sanguinis conjunctis in Senatu verba fecerint. Non autem illos qui vel aucta ditione vel servato Populo vel re quapiam in commune bonum supra communem modum gesta meruisse posteritatis memoriam videbantur.—Die 26 mens. Jan. 1634.

CHAPTER XIII.

CAPITOLINE ASCENTS.

THE excavations of late years have done much, if not all that can be wanted, towards the discovery of the ancient ascents from the Roman Forum to the Capitol. I found in 1854 that many more of the basalt polygons of the Clivus Capitolinus had been laid bare than were discoverable in 1843. The direction in which that famous road ascended the hill is now distinctly seen. It passed from the Arch of Severus under the three columns, once called the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, and now ascribed either to Saturn, or Vespasian and Titus. It then turned under the temple of the eight columns, given by some to Saturn, by others to Vespasian; thence its present progress is soon stopped by the mound on which this modern ascent has been raised. It proceeded, however, in all probability, pretty much in the direction of the modern pathway up the Monte Caprino. My late friend Antonio Nibby is accused of having stopped the further clearing of the ascent, because he was afraid it would disprove his plan in regard to the direction of the Clivus Capitolinus, and also to the site of the great Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter,

which he placed on Aracœli. But it appears to me that the latter objection need not have alarmed him, for there is no reason why the triumphal road should not have wound round the western corner of the Tabularium of Catulus, where the modern prisons are now built, and have crossed the Capitoline area, or intermontium, to the eastern summit of the hill. Indeed there are some polygons of the old road to be seen close under the recently opened entrance on that side into the Tabularium.

The theory that the Triumphal Way was a continuation of the Via Sacra derives some support from the discovery of the lines of basalt polygons running alongside of the base of the Basilica Julia to the ruins of the temples under the Capitol. It seems ascertained that this part of the road was anciently called the Clivus Sacerus as well as the Via Triumphalis; but the conjecture that identifies this ascent with the "Clivus Asyli" appears unfounded. That road is, with greater probability, carried from the Arch of Severus, where some of its flag-stones were discovered, in 1803, to the back of the Mamertine Prisons, corresponding perhaps with a lane passing in that direction into the Via del Arco di Settimio, and called the Via di S. Pietro in Carcere. Some modern brick-walls, of considerable height, supporting a terrace attached to the convent and church of Aracœli, rise immediately above this lane, and, together with other mean buildings, entirely disfigure the ancient site and appearance of this angle of the Capitoline Hill.

THE HUNDRED STEPS.

The hundred steps of the Tarpeian rock were at the angle opposite to that of the Clivus Asyli, namely, the south corner of the Capitoline Hill towards the Tiber. Vestiges of them were remaining early in the twelfth century, as appears by a document referable to that period; but that they followed the direction of the modern pathway from the "Piazza della Consolazione," called "Via del Monte Caprino," is only a conjecture. On this side the Capitoline Hill is ascended by three roads. The first, so frequently before alluded to, and the most modern, for it was made by Leo XII., winds upwards from the eight columns to the modern prisons: it is a carriage way, and is called the Via del Campidoglio. It is constructed on an artificial mound: underneath this road a filthy lane follows the same line. The next ascent, to the westward, is called Via del Monte Tarpejo; and further on towards the Tiber is the "Via del Monte Caprino." The two last are only footways, and both lead into a street on the declivity of the hill, composed of mean dwelling-houses. A little higher up, on the same angle of the hill, is another street, half buried in filth and rubbish: on one of the houses of this street are this quotation and inscription:

Hinc ad Tarpejiam sedem et Capitolia ducit
Pervia nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis.

Gregorius xiii. P.M. viam Tarpejiam aperuit.

Hier. Alterius Ædilis secundo
Paulus Bubalies Ædilis sexto, } curabant.

The whole of this acclivity, the base of which is formed by a line stretching from the "Campo Vaccino" to the "Piazza della Consolazione," is choked up by houses of the meanest description, ascending to the back of the Cafarelli Palace, on the south-west summit of the hill. Gregory and his ædiles were modest enough to omit the golden epithet of Virgil ("aurea"); but there was little to boast of in the actual exploit.

Before my visit to Rome in 1842 (I believe in 1835), the excavations immediately under the modern ascent, the "Via del Campidoglio" and the corner of the Tabularium, had laid bare three fragments of the arched chamber and portico of the so-called Schola Xantha and the colonnaded structure assigned to the Di Consentes. The remains are so considerable and so clearly defined, that an antiquarian artist would have no difficulty in constructing a probable restoration of these edifices; but the comparatively late date of them, the reign of Valentinian, a little detracts from their importance. Mr. Dyer (Smith's Dict., p. 788) thinks that Cicero alluded to those more ancient offices of the scribes of the ædiles in his "fatally divine" Philippic. The inscription in the dedication to the divinity of the twelve "Deum Consentium," and not Consentum, which was found under the Tabularium, seems to deprive the temple of any high antiquity; but as the quotation from Varro, cited by Mr. Dyer,* would, as that writer justly remarks,

* The words from Varro are as follows:—"Et quoniam, ut aiunt, Dei facientes adjuvant, prius invocabo eos; nec ut Homerus et

include the Clivus Capitolinus in the Forum, I am inclined to doubt the accuracy of this designation. No plausible scheme can bring the Clivus within the Forum.

The fragment of an architrave, on which the inscription was carved, may not have belonged to a building anciently placed in this spot. So little care was taken by the restorers of temples, that one of the columns of the temple of Saturn or Vespasian is found to be upside down.

The ascent called Monte Caprino is continued from the Piazza del Campidoglio to the portico above, belonging to the Conservators' Palace. The mean buildings on the left hand (south) of this ascent were once the property of the little corporations of modern Rome, now as much forgotten as the Tribes of the Republican City. On the doorways of these wretched dwellings may be seen these inscriptions:—"The University of the Coblers;" "The Consuls of the Masons;" "The University of the Whitewashers."

Some merit may have been justly claimed by Gregory XIII. and his Ædiles for opening the Tarpejan ascent; but the old carriage-road, seen in modern pictures, from the Campo Vaccino to the Capitol, was certainly one of the most barbarous of

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Ennius, Musas, sed xii deos consentis; neque tamen eos urbanos, seu quorum imagines ad forum auratæ stant, sex mares et feminæ totidem, sed illos xii deos qui maxime agricolarum duces sunt."

all the Papal exploits, inasmuch as, by half choking up and pressing down, the great remains of the temples in that quarter, it served to perpetuate the deformity of those majestic ruins. Yet an inscription on the wall facing the prisons records, that this was the work of Pope Clement XI. and his Conservators in 1709. The first labour of the French administration was devoted to breaking up this hideous causeway.

The Via del Arco de Settimio is a paved road, large enough, and not too steep, for carriages. It is, however, but seldom used, and a chain has been drawn across the upper end of it. The ancient building of the Capitol has been recently cleared on this side, and the large travertine blocks of which it is composed being exposed, show what must have been the massive solidity of the ancient citadel. The contrast between them and the before-mentioned brick wall under the terrace is exceedingly striking.

THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD.

The reader may recollect a fine passage in Middleton's letter from Rome: "For my own part as I have been rambling about in the very *rostra of old Rome*, or in that *temple of Concord* where Tully assembled the senate in Catiline's conspiracy; I could not help fancying myself much more sensible of the force of his eloquence, whilst the impression of the place served to warm my imagination to a degree almost equal to that of his *old audience*."

The author of the 'Free Enquiry' was no enthusiast, even in the cause of his favourite Cicero, and the emotions which he confesses himself to have felt will be assuredly partaken by any one imbued with a moderate respect for the wisest and best man of all antiquity. Every site and relic that can remind us of him must be regarded with that veneration with which he himself contemplated the porticoes and seats of the Athenian philosophers: and we treasure up the little dies of the pavement which lie scattered on the Formian shore, and may possibly have been trodden by the saviour of his country, with an affectionate regard scarcely inspired by the masterpieces of ancient art.*

There is certainly no delight comparable with that derived from the sight of objects connected with the writings and actions of those, who, according to the panegyric of Dryden,—

"Better lived than we, though less they knew—"

How fully such a delight is enjoyed at Rome may be understood by the most ignorant, and is experienced by the most indifferent observer. The fear of ridicule, the vice of the age, is, in this instance, insufficient to check the honest indistinct admiration, which, it may be some consolation for the timid to learn from competent authority, is not the sign of folly, but of superior sense,

* Cicero is the hero of Mola di Gaeta; a tomb and a villa, said to belong to him, are shown by the antiquary at the inn of that town.

and is the sole origin of wisdom.* The memory of the great orator was preserved at Rome even in the ages of ignorance. In the twelfth century, an ancient structure was known by the name of the temple of Cicero. He had not a temple raised to him, but no man that ever lived was more deserving of one.†

We must be content with the site, for we cannot trust much to the objects of the Roman Forum. It will have been seen that when Middleton was at Rome the eight columns under the Capitol with the inscription, "*Senatus Populusque Romanus incendio consumptum restituit,*" were usually supposed those of the Ciceronian Temple of Concord. In fact, they had gone by that name in the fifteenth century, when seen by Poggio, who witnessed the destruction of the cell and part of the portico.‡ The author of the 'Ordo Romanus,' in

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* Μάλα γὰρ φιλοσόφου τοῦτο το πάθος, τὸ θαυμάζειν, οὐ γὰρ ἄλλη ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας ἢ αὕτη. Platon. Theæteti. dialog. oper. tom. i. p. 155. The reader may remark the use the eloquent Winkelmann has made of this authority. *Storia delle Arti*, &c. lib. v cap. vi. tom. i. p. 393.

† Benedict, in his Ordo Romanus, says, "Mane dicit missam ad sanctam Anastasiam, qua finita descendit cum processione per viam juxta porticum Gallatorum ante templum Sybillæ et inter templum Ciceronis et porticum Cimorum."—Ap. Mabillon. *Mus. Ital.*, tom. ii. p. 125, num. 16.

‡ "Romani postmodum ædem totam et porticus partem disjectis columnis sunt demoliti."—De Variet. Fortunæ ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 501. Mr. Lumsden, who published his volume on the antiquities of Rome in 1797, talks as if the doubts respecting these ruins were unfounded. He says, "But as the Temple of Concord is not mentioned in the inscription, some antiquaries, contrary to tradition,

the twelfth century, places it near the Arch of Severus,* a position which seems to accord with that given to the Temple of Concord by Dion Cassius,† and by Servius,‡ the first of whom says it was near the prisons, and the second near the Temple of Saturn, on the Clivus Capitolinus. Plutarch, in his life of Camillus, mentions that it looked towards the Forum. An inscription found near the ruins, as Marlianus § and Faunus ‖

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have doubted if this was it."—p. 360. Of this very unsafe guide an equally credulous writer says—

"And Lumsden taught him to converse of Rome."

And then follows a note extolling Mr. Lumsden. See Dial. iv. of 'Pursuits of Literature,' a work which enjoyed the most marvellous popularity, and the author of which, amongst other proofs of scarcely sane self-importance, actually goes the length of comparing his foolish fears to the Passion of our Saviour. "It is written," says he, "I hope we all know where, 'and being in an agony he prayed yet more fervently.'" 'Pursuits of Literature,' Dial. iii., *note*. The quotation from the New Testament is given in Greek.

* "Descendit ante privatam Mamertini; intrat sub arcu triumphali inter templum fatale et templum Concordiæ." Ordo Roman. Auct. Benedict. ap. Mab. ib. p. 143, num. 51. The author of the 'De mirabilibus Romæ' also says, "Templum Concordiæ juxta Capitolium, ante quod arcus triumphalis."—Ap. Montfaucon *Diar. Italic.*, cap. xx.

† Hist. Rom. lib. lviii. cap. ii. tom. ii. p. 885. Near the prison, he says, that is the *Mamertine*, ἀλλ' αὐθημερὸν ἡ γερόυσια πλησίον τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν τῷ Ὁμονοείῳ, &c. vol. ii. p. 885, edit. Hamb.

‡ "Templum Saturni, quod est ante Clivum Capitolium, juxta Concordiæ templum."—*Ad Æneid.* lib. ii. ver. 116.

§ Marlian. Topog. Urb. Rom. cap. x. lib. ii. only says, "Inventus est autem lapis," without saying where.

‖ Faunus, lib. ii. cap. x. de Antiq. Urb. Rom. "In marmore præterea quodam aliquando in ruinis reperto." Is the Abate Fea justified from this in saying, "Che vi fu trovata per testimonianza

attest, and transferred afterwards to the Lateran, records that the Temple of Concord having fallen from old age was restored by the Senate and the Roman people in the time of Constantine. Donatus * was positive of the authentic claims of the eight columns. The first to establish a doubt was Nardini,† and his opinion prevailed with Winkelmann,‡ and with Winkelmann's editor,§ who, however, was converted before

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del Marliano e di Lucio Fauno?"—*Dissertazione*, &c. p. 299. This inscription is given elsewhere.

* Lib. ii. cap. xiv.

† Lib. v. cap. vi.

‡ Storia delle Arti, &c. lib. xii. cap. xiii. tom. ii. p. 413.

§ Dissertazione, &c. tom. iii. p. 299, ibid.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Fragments of the cell of the Temple of Concord have been discovered since this was written, and also four inscriptions given in Nibby's edition of Nardini, tom. ii. p. 196. Nibby (For. Rom., p. 137) thinks that the one inscription was two, and that the S. P. Q. R. was repeated "per confusione maggiore." Confusion indeed—I must confess that in my opinion the confusion has not been entirely cleared away by the able writer in Dr. Smith's Dictionary (p. 781-2). It is indeed agreed that the words "S. P. Q. R. aedem Concordiæ vetustate collapsam in meliorem faciem opere et cultu splendidiore restituerunt" must have belonged to the Temple of Concord. Such was the inscription on the stone which was formerly in the Lateran, and which is given in a MS. still preserved, but those words have nothing to do with the inscriptions now seen on the ruined edifices under the Capitol, namely—"Senatus Populusque Romanus incendio consumptum restituit" on the eight columned ruin, and the letters "Estituer" on the three columned ruin; and the accident of the three inscriptions being given together has by no means solved the problem. I do not think it at all certain that the

ESTITVER

he had finished his labours, and to get rid of the difficulty respecting the two inscriptions (the one in the Lateran and the other now on the frieze), supposes that they both may have been affixed to the porch, and that the restoration was made, *first* under Constantine, and *afterwards* perhaps at the time that the Emperor Eugenius encouraged the Pagan worship.

The fall and the fire and the modern Romans have left but little of the temple where Cicero assembled the

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ESTITVER belonged to either of the three. The words supplied from the anonymous collector of inscriptions, whose MS. is preserved at Einsidlen, are "Divo Vespasiano Augusto S. P. Q. R. imppp Caes. Severus et Antoninus pii. fel. Aug," and "unt," and hence the very recent name assigned to the three columns, but not without a struggle; for though the Italian Canina, followed by Dyer, prefers Vespasian and Titus, Bunsen and Becker insist upon Saturn having been the god of this temple. The Abate Fea, Diario di Roma, vol. i. p. 258, asserts positively that in the middle of the eighth century the inscription was seen and began with the S. P. Q. R. This eliminates Vespasian and his son, but the Abate is obliged to suppose that the S. P. Q. R. were prefixed by the half republican authorities after the invasion of Totila. If that was so, the senate and the Roman people of that unhappy period must have thought it immaterial, whether or not an inscription admitted of a sensible or even a grammatical construction. It has been remarked that the architrave and frieze of these columns have been blended together so as to form an uniform surface for the insertion of the inscription. The same peculiarity is observable on the Portico of Octavia, in the Pescaria, which was restored by the above mentioned Emperors. Severus has left more records of his architectural exploits than any other master of the Roman world. The Pantheon, the Portico of Octavia, the two arches which bear his name, and the inscription now under discussion, are all proofs of his attachment to the arts and to the imperial city; but in order to make him worthy of the praise bestowed upon him by Spartianus, it is necessary to adopt an alteration

senate, but it is something to hope that we tread the site and may touch a fragment of the Porch which was guarded by the equestrian patriots who escorted the consul and menaced Cæsar and the friends of the conspirators with their swords.* If this, however, was the Temple of Concord, it is not easy to understand why such a position should have been thought peculiarly secure. It does not certainly correspond with the usual incorrect notion that the temple was in the Capitol. The ruins can hardly be said even to be on the Capitoline ascent, which is supposed by some to be included in the Capitol itself.†

* Philip x. "Equites Romani qui frequentissimi in gradibus Concordiæ steterant," &c.

† Varro places the temple between the Capitol and the Forum. Festus also (in voc. Senatula), "inter Capitolium et Forum." See Marlian. in loc. citat. and Nardini; also P. Victor "Unum (Senaculum) ubi nunc est ædes Concordiæ, ubi magistratus cum Senioribus deliberant," de regionibus urbis. Ap. Græv., tom. iii. p. xi. I leave the text above as written in 1817; but there can be little doubt now as to the real position of the old temple. The fragments are in part buried under the mound on which the modern "Via del Arco di Settimio" is constructed; but a portion of the marble flooring of the cella has been disinterred, and is distinct evidence of the position of

alteration lately proposed for the text of that author—"magnum vero illud in vita ejus, quod Romæ omnes ædes publicas, quæ vitio temporum labebantur instauravit, nusquam prope suo nomine ascripto, servatis tamen ubique titulis conditorum." For "tamen" read "nisi," says Nibby, and justly—for if Severus *almost never* "marked the marble with his name," how comes it that all his existing works should be exceptions to that modest indifference to renown?

The doubts respecting the other three columns are of an earlier date than those concerning the Temple of Concord. Fulvius Ursinus considered the name of Jupiter Tonans a rash conjecture when applied to any certain position in the Capitol, and particularly near the modern prisons;* but the regionary Victor finds that temple in the Capitoline declivity,† which Suetonius had placed in the Capitol. It is in order to reconcile these contending notices, that the dilation of the Capitol has been adopted by the antiquaries.‡ The letters left on the frieze, ESTITVER, correspond with the Lateran inscription thought to belong to the other temple, yet nothing has been gained by the coincidence.

ARCH OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

A coin of the time of Caracalla is the only ancient record of this considerable monument, and this shows us that the arch was formally surmounted with a triumphal car. Two figures are seen in the car, which is drawn by six horses, and has a foot soldier on each side

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he Temple. Much importance is attached to a figure of the caduceus cut into the marble; originally the figure was inlaid with bronze, which has been removed, but the shape of the wand has been carefully preserved. The emblem of the God of Eloquence is supposed to have reference to the harangues occasionally delivered in this famous place of assembly (1842-1854).

* Marlian., ibid. lib. ii. cap. iii. note 3.

† "Ædes Jovis Tonantis in Clivo Capitolii, dedicata ab Augusto."—*De Region. Urb.* Regio viii. in loc. cit. p. 105.

‡ Donatus, lib. ii. cap. xi.

of it. At each of the corners there is also a soldier on horseback. The most interesting particular connected with this arch is, perhaps, the visible erasure of the name and titles of Geta, for which have been substituted the concluding two letters of the third line and the whole of the fourth line. A similar substitution is observable in the inscription on the Janus in the Velabrum, and also in that of the bronze tablet in the Capitoline Museum. Caracalla could not bear to be reminded of his deceased brother. He wept whenever he saw the image or statue, or was any way reminded of Geta. The Romans are said by the Historians to have wondered at so much grief; but whether they were surprised or not, they pretended to sympathize with their murderous master, and in these erasures have left us a striking proof of their servility and debasement.

The present respectable appearance of this half buried monument is due to Pius VII., whose care is recorded by an inscription on the wall that surrounds it, and that prevents the accumulation of earth and rubbish which had frustrated three previous attempts at restoration. The Popes who had before failed in the same endeavour were Leo X., assisted though he was by Michael Angelo, Pius IV., in 1563, and Gregory XV. in 1621.

COLUMN OF PHOCAS.

The neighbouring column of Phocas can no longer be part of the temple of Jupiter Custos, or the Græco-

stasis, or the bridge of Caligula. It must appear strange that the simple expedient of digging to the base to look for an inscription was delayed until 1813, on purpose, as it were, to give scope to further conjecture.* It seems that some struggle was made to believe it dedicated to the emperor Maurice, the name of the fallen tyrant being carefully erased.

The affection of Gregory the Great, who then exercised a powerful influence over the Romans, towards *his Piety* the emperor Phocas, is well known to have been as great as that of the exarch Smaragdus in whose name the column was erected: and indeed that murderer has found a defender even in modern times.† The gilded

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* *opt*IMO CLEMENTIS . *felicissim*OQUE
PRINCIPI DOMINO *n. focae imperator*I
PERPETUO A DO CORONATO TRIVMPHATORI
SEMPER AVGVSTO
SMARAGDVS EX PREPOS SACRI PALATII
AC PATRICIVS ET EXARCHVS ITALIAE
DEVOTVS EIVS CLEMENTIAE
PRO INNVMERABILIBVS PIETATIS EIVS
BENEFICIIS ET PRO QV*ie*TE
PROCVRATA ITAL. AC CONSER*vat*A LIBERTATE
HANC ST*atvam. pieta*TIS EIVS
AVRI SPLEND*ore micant*EM. HVIC
SVBLIMI COLV*mNae ad* PERENNEM
IPSIVS GLORIAM IMPOSVIT AC DEDICAVIT
DIE PRIMA MENSIS AVGVSTI INDICT. VND.
$\overline{\text{PC}}$ PIETATIS EIVS ANNO QVINTO.

See *Lettera sopra la Colonna dell' Imperatore Foca,* scritta da Filippo Aurelio Visconti. Roma, 1813, p. 10.

† Two Dutchmen sat down to protect and attack this worthy character. Ant. de Stoppelaar, oratio pro Phoca Imperatore, Amstel. 1732, and Simon Van den Brink, orat. in Phocam Imperatorem.

statue representing a hideous monster, and such as the decayed arts could then furnish, the style and even the letters of the inscription, the shattered repaired column, transferred from some other structure and defaced by rude carving, must have forcibly bespoken the degradation of the Forum and of the Roman race.

Amstel. 1732. Gibbon, vol. viii. 8vo. cap. lxvi. p. 212, overlooked or despised these authors, who were awakened from their repose by the Abate Cancellieri, the friend of Visconti. *Lettera. Ibid.*, p. 10.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

It was reserved for the 13th of March, 1813, to discover that this pillar did not form part of an ancient edifice, but was a triumphal column; and the excavations directed by the late Duchess of Devonshire at the base of it, and renewed in 1816, uncovered a pavement of white travertine flag-stones and a basement ascended by eight[a] steps a cubit in height, of which one range was completely laid bare.

The same labours exposed two other square basements of brick-work, on which it appears that isolated columns had formerly been raised; for here were found two or three immense fragments of oriental granite pillars, many pieces of sculptured marble, capitals and cornices, and some inscribed stones, one of which, with a sort of unaccountable indifference, had been again laid down to serve as a step. Two of the inscriptions are half in Greek and half in Latin:—

ΑΠΩΣΙΚΑΚΟΙΣ	ΑΘΑΝΑΙ
ΘΕΟΙC	ΑΠΟΤΡΟΠΑΙΑΙ
EX ÓRÁCVLÓ	EX ÓRÁCVLÓ

These votive inscriptions are remarkable for the elegance of the character and for the accents which are placed over the Latin words. It has also been observed that the *ἀπωσικακοις* has never been discovered in any Greek author, although of an obvious meaning.[b] An-

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[a] Nibby says eleven; I will put only eight.

[b] Nibby, For. Rom., cap. i. p. 167.

other inscription found on the same spot is composed of these letters—

M . CISPIVS. L. F. PR.

and records a Prætor belonging, it is thought, to the last age of the republic. A fragment shows the following letters :—

VSIVNIVS,

and other inscriptions of doubtful import were also found, and were removed. Amongst them was a fragment of the Capitoline Fasti, which was not submitted to profane inspection. The excavators on this site had to work through the foundation walls of modern buildings, and an accumulation, composed in a great measure, of broken marble, travertine, and brick-work, all of which, mingled with rubbish and common earth, gave to the spectator who looked into the deep pit below him, from the footway of modern Rome to the level of the ancient city, a lively conception of the variety and succession of structures that crowded this part of the Forum, and of the ruins that laid them low. The column of Phocas itself was a fragment probably of some building of the age of the Antonines—certainly not of the wretched times when it was raised, 608 A.D. (For. Rom., p. 165). The inscriptions underwent the same fate as those on the Arch of Severus, erased and altered after the murderer Phocas had been killed by Heraclius.

CHAPTER XIV.

St. Martina — St. Hadrian — Basilica Emilia—Cosmas and Damianus — Temple of Remus, or of the Penates — St. Lorenzo in Miranda — Antoninus and Faustina — Basilica of Constantine — Temple of Venus and Rome — Arch of Titus — St. Maria Liberatrice — Curia Hostilia — Church of St. Theodore — Temple of Romulus or Vesta — Basilica Julia.

ROMAN FORUM.

THE local sanctity of the Roman Forum is somewhat impaired by the doubts which obscure the greater part of the conspicuous remains in this quarter. The site of the Forum itself, at least the exact position of it, is not quite determinately known. Some antiquaries previous to Panvinius thought it to be near the temple supposed that of Pallas in what is now called the Forum of Nerva.* Fulvius laid it down between the Capitoline and Palatine hills.† Marlianus extended it as far as the Arch of Titus, and Baronius lengthened it to St. Nicholas *in Carcere*.‡ Donatus believed in the more restricted sense,§ and he is followed by Nardini. Some

* Nardini, lib. iii. cap. xiii.
† Ibid., lib. v. cap. ii.
‡ Ibid. ibid. ibid.
§ Donat., lib. ii. cap. xvi. cap. xix.

idea may be formed of the size from that of the Forum of Trajan, which was probably the larger of the two. When Constantius visited Rome it was regarded as a venerable remnant of former power.* The destruction of the monuments and the desolation of the site must date at least as early as the fire of Guiscard.

The name of the Roman Forum seems to have been obliterated in the earliest times, and when it reappears the modern denomination by a singular coincidence shows that time had accomplished the repented vow of Totila.† The Forum was the Cow-field in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and the sacred precincts are usually known by no other name to this day. The accretion of soil is so great in the *Campo Vaccino*, that the excavations to the ancient level have thrown up heaps of earth, the disposal of which has become a matter of difficulty. The dissection has not yet led to a correct anatomy of the ancient structure.‡ Despairing of any discoveries at the foot of the three columns (the pretended Comitium), the Abate Fea was superintending the labours of the convicts in the summer, 1817, to ascertain the actual

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* "Perspectissimum priscæ potentiæ forum obstupuit."—Amm. Marcell., lib. xvi. cap. 10, p. 143.

† Totila said he would make Rome a *sheep-walk*, μηλόβοτον. The coincidence would be more striking, if, as the Latin translation interprets it, and as Gibbon has apparently followed that translation, the Gothic king had used the words "in gregum pascua," a "pasture for cattle." See *Decline and Fall*, cap. xliii. tom. vii. at p. 369.

‡ This was written in 1817. What has been done towards the above-named object will be seen in the subsequent pages.

direction by which the triumphal way ascended the Capitoline hill. The difficulty of squeezing the twenty elephants and the four stags abreast of Aurelian's car, into the space between the Arch of Severus and the supposed Temple of Concord, was not, however, likely to be surmounted by any discoveries beneath the soil.* It does not seem that any flooring similar to that of the Forum of Trajan will be found in this quarter: nor have the labours at the base of the three columns decided whether they are still to be the Comitium, or be restored to their former tenants, Castor and Pollux, or to Jupiter Stator.† They have, however, added two or three fragments to the Fasti, the original mass of which was discovered at the opposite church of Santa Maria Liberatrice.‡

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* Vopisc. in Vit. Aurel. Hist. Aug., p. 210, edit. 1519; or under the arch would be equally difficult. Roman antiquaries have a very summary way of getting rid of difficulties. Some one mentioned this reference to Vopiscus to the Abate Fea—"Oh," said Fea, "Vopiscus was wrong." The probable direction of the Triumphal Way is elsewhere shown in this volume.

† Nardini, lib. v. cap. iii., is positive for the Comitium; after which we may be amused with the following opinions. "Quoiqu' il y ait des antiquaires qui croient que les trois superbes colonnes isolées que l'on voit dans le Forum, &c., et l'opinion la plus commune est qu'elles sont un reste *du Portique du temple de Jupiter Stator.*"—Vasi, *Itinéraire de Rome*, 1816, tom. i. p. 78. "Ma che *sicuramente* sono avanzi del tempio di *Castore et Polluce.*"—*Itinerario di Roma*, &c., opera dell' Antiquario Andrea Manazzale, Roma, 1817, tom. i. p. 44. Mr. Forsyth has hit these two antiquaries, "lacquey de places in print."

‡ The view of the Forum in Paul V.'s time gives a mass of brickwork, called Rostra Vetera et Nova, near the Palatine; some arched

ST. MARTINA.

From the church of St. Martina *in tribus Foris** to the corner of the Carinæ, there is not an object that has not been disputed, and that may not again become the subject of controversy. Nardini † thought the church of Saint Hadrian might be the temple dedicated by Antoninus to Hadrian, a scandalous but probable con-

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ruins, called Templum Libertatis, near the Comitium; then a single arch and two steps, like a sentry-box, Templum Deorum Penatum; and behind these the Curtian Lake, with four arches, partly filled up, called curia nova ad Septentrionem vergens.

* The church is now called S. Martina e Luca. Donatus, I believe, originated the conjecture that it stood on the site of the Secretarium Senatus. Nibby speaks of it with some hesitation:—"Pretende che fosse l' archivio del Senato." The next church is now generally adjusted to the Basilica Æmilia; although, to get rid of some difficulties, Bunsen, as I found in 1842, had conjectured that there were two Æmilian Basilicas. In regard to the building itself, it seems decided that the brickwork of the façade, the only part laying claim to any antiquity, belongs to the sixth or seventh century.[a] Nibby, the author from whom these words are quoted, formerly spoke with much decision in favour of this church being composed in part of the Basilica Æmilia,[b] chiefly on the strength of an inscription on a marble pedestal discovered in digging for the foundation of the modern church in 1665; and Nibby adds to this conjecture that the columns of Phrygian marble which adorned the Basilicas of Æmilius in the reign of Valentinian II. were transferred to the church of St. Paul's without the Walls, which was built at that period. This is only a conjecture.

† Lib. v. cap. 8.

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[a] Roma nel anno 1838, p. 27.

[b] Foro Romano, p. 156.

jecture; just as the neighbouring S. Martina* is more likely to have been formerly devoted to Mars than to the "*Secretarium Senatus*," a name given to it on account of an inscription found near it, and copied by Gruter. The church of St. Hadrian is the Temple of Saturn in one guide book, and the Basilica of Paulus Emilius in another.†

SS. COSMAS AND DAMIANUS.

Next comes the church of St. Cosmas and Damianus, which was once set down to Castor and Pollux, then to the goddess Rome, afterwards to Romulus and Remus, then to Romulus alone, then to Remus alone.‡ The round vestibule is ancient, as are the bronze doors, although they did not originally belong to this structure, but were added by Pope Hadrian I. together with the porphyry columns. Even the modern objects change in Rome: for the famous picture in this church of the Mother of God,§ which said to Saint Gregory, "*Gregorie,*

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* It is called *in tribus foris*, from the contiguity of the Roman, Augustan, and Julian forums, a proof of its high antiquity. These names of churches are the great help in adjusting topography.

† The same Vasi and Manazzale.

‡ Nardini, lib. iii. cap. iii. Fabric. Descrip. Rom. cap. ix. Venuti, Roma Moderna, rione x. tom. ii. p. 354. Donatus, lib. iii. cap. iv. He thinks the round temple might have belonged to one, and the rectangular one behind to another.

§ "They show us here an image of the Virgin which reprimanded Gregory the Great for passing by her too carelessly."—Middleton's *Letter from Rome.*

quare me non salutasti?" is become God the Father, with a globe in his hand, and two fingers held up in papal benediction.*

The plan of ancient Rome, now in the Capitoline Museum, was found, not in the ancient temple, but in

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* Here there are three levels,—that of the modern church, of the old church, and of ancient Rome. The vestibule has a modern flooring raised upon rude pilasters standing on the ancient level. The subterranean chamber is worth visiting. It is decorated with old paintings and arabesques. The well, which in the middle ages was usually sunk in the crypts, now remains. The bronze doors are thought to be ancient, although known to have been transferred hither by Pope Hadrian I.; but the doorway is modern, and not where the ancient entrance was placed—that entrance is believed to have been more in the position of the grated window which now lights the subterranean chamber. I have previously noticed the many names given to this structure. The papal biographer Anastasius calls it the temple of Romulus, and so it was called generally in 1817. The inscription in the annexed church of Cosmas and Damianus shows that in the time of Urban VIII. it was thought to have belonged to Romulus and Remus. In 1822 I found it transferred to Remus alone; but both the legendary founders have been pushed from their shrines by recent topographers, and the last critic agrees with Bunsen and Becker in "assuming that this was really the temple of the Trojan household gods."[a] Yet Mr. Dyer, not being able to reconcile this opinion with the acknowledged fact that on this spot the house of Valerius Publicola stood, is obliged to confess that the "situation does not correspond with the description given by Cicero, Livy, and other writers." This writer thinks the objection overcome by supposing there were two temples of the Penates—one at the top, the other at the bottom of the Velian eminence: perhaps there were, although Bunsen and Becker say there were not.[b]—1857.

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[a] Smith's Dict., art. 'Rome,' p. 808. [b] Ib., p. 807.

the wall of the subterranean chamber beneath the church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus. *Perhaps* this plan, which seems to belong to the reign of Severus, and is very incorrect, was, in former times, the pavement of the temple, but removed when the church was built by Pope Felix IV. in the year 526. I will add another *perhaps* from Professor Nibby. The two half-buried cipolline columns, now before the contiguous oratory of the Via Crucis, might have been part of the portico of the circular temple.

Some other ancient edifice, besides this temple, was employed by Felix in building his church. Remains of it, consisting of quadilateral blocks of tufo and peperine, put together without cement, exactly similar to the wall called the inclosure of the Forum of Nerva, are seen from behind the oratory of the Via Crucis, flanking the sides of the church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus. A brick wall of ancient construction joins these remains at right angles. The name arbitrarily applied to the peperine and brick ruins is the Inclosure of the Forum of Cæsar.

ST. LORENZO IN MIRANDA.—ANTONINUS AND FAUSTINA.

The inscription, DIVO ANTONINO ET DIVÆ FAUSSTINAE, on the portico of S. Laurence in *Miranda*, would appear decisive; the antiquaries, however, are cautious to

remark that there were two Antonines, and two Faustinas.*

TEMPLE OF PEACE.

The three vaults, formerly thought to be part of the Temple of Peace, would certainly seem part of that structure which astonished Hormisdas,† and which Herodian ‡ calls the greatest and most beautiful work in the whole city. Even Nardini § had no doubts here. Succeeding antiquaries disputed about what part of the temple these huge vaults might be said to represent; a

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* The eight Cipollino marble columns, with the architrave and part of the cella attached to the church of St. Lorenzo in Miranda, still continue objects of controversy. The claims of M. Antoninus and the younger Faustina were in 1828 thought superior to those of their elder namesakes; but the latest authority has decided otherwise.[a] The inscription recording the dedication to Faustina is of a prior date to that which gives a share of the temple to the god Antoninus. The ascent to the temple from the Sacred Way was by a flight of twenty-one steps, fifteen feet in height; and there was a half-subterranean staircase to the lower part of the building, the entrance to which, through the wall, was discovered in 1810. The government of the day was afraid to keep the excavation open, on account of the water which rapidly accumulated in the hole. The arabesque candelabras and griffins on the architrave are much admired (1858).

† Amm. Marcell. lib. xvi. cap. x. in loc. cit. *forumque pacis.*

‡ Herodian, lib. i. *πᾶν τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος κατεφλέχθη, μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον γενόμενον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔργων*, p. 58, edit. Basil. The fire by lightning happened in the reign of Commodus.

§ Lib. iii. cap. xii.

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[a] Dr. Smith's Dict., art. 'Rome,' p. 795.

treasury, a Pinacotheca, perhaps a bath, or any other building of the Forum of Peace. The great excavations in 1812 discovered immense masses of marble, which awakened further conjecture.

The rubbish and soil which, in 1817, encumbered the area of these vast ruins, and covered the huge fallen fragments of the building, were cleared away before my second visit in 1822. Some excavations beneath the present level had, at that time, discovered a flight of eleven steps, a portion of the Sacred Way, and the old pavement of the edifice itself. To these may be added some vestiges of an ancient chamber with paintings in an inferior style, belonging, it seems, to some buildings, the upper part of which were destroyed in order to give place to the great structure.

In 1822, a controversy still raged in regard to these ruins. Abate Fea maintained that they belonged to the Temple of Peace, although obliged to confess that they were not a part of the temple built by Vespasian, which was entirely destroyed by fire, but of some restoration to which no certain epoch could be assigned.* The name, "Basilica of Constantine," is principally due to the author of the 'Essay on the Forum;' Antonio Nibby trampled with contempt on the conjecture which mistook a Christian Basilica for a Pagan temple, and which assigned to the age of Vespasian architecture that betrays the decline and degradation of the arts.

* Fea, vol. ii. p. 286.

I believe that there are now no sticklers for the old designation.* Some masses of cemented flint were, in 1822, discovered contiguous to the arches on the side towards the Coliseum. They were then assigned to Nero's Golden House, a portion of which Vespasian converted into a vaulted portico. They were mingled with some modern structures of the middle ages; some of the standing, as well as the fallen fragments of the Basilica of Constantine were, in 1828, cased in brickwork, not, as it appeared, very judiciously, for it is by no means unlikely that these also may be mistaken hereafter for part of the substructure of Nero's Palace of Gold.

TEMPLE OF VENUS AND ROME.

Since 1817, the Papal antiquaries employed themselves here very judiciously. They propped up the ruins by some brickwork, so as to keep clear the passage between the double cells, and a house was built on the side opposite to the arch of Titus, which will also contribute to preserve the few remains of what was once one of the most superb temples of Imperial Rome; the excavations made on each side of the ruins enable us, with the help of ancient medals, to judge not only of the shape and size of the temple, but also of the quality of

* Dr. Smith's Dict., art. Roma, attributes the settlement of the question to a coin of Maxentius which tumbled out of the ruins in 1828 (p. 808), but the arguments of Nibby were conclusive without this confirmation.

the materials of which it was composed. The fragments of two enormous columns of Parian marble are now (1854) lying, as they were in 1822, on the side towards the Basilica of Constantine; and, on the opposite side, fronting the arch of Titus, is seen a flight of seven marble steps, which served as an ascent to the Pronaos of the temple. Nibby's 'Essay on the Forum' is very serviceable in this place,* and to edify the unlearned, informs us that the structure was of the kind called "amphiprostilo-pseudo diptero decastilo-sistilo." It was a most magnificent building of the most magnificent of all builders, Hadrian. It occupied the whole platform (part of the Velia), between the Basilica of Constantine, the arch of Titus and the Coliseum, towering above the Roman Forum and all its temples. The portion of the cell, still visible, opposite to the Coliseum, shows that it was highly decorated; the church and convent of S. Fracenesca Romana entirely inclose whatever remained of the twin tribunes.

ARCH OF TITUS.

In the autumn of 1822 this arch was under repair, and the entablature had been weighed down in order to be replaced with greater precision and stability—a most salutary work, for in 1817 this beautiful specimen of the Composite order seemed loosened and disjointed, and threatened a speedy fall. It is singular

* P. 213.

that this monument to the best of the Roman emperors, who is seen, under the archway, flying on an eagle to heaven, is passed over in the same silence as the inferior arch of Severus, and that the first notice of it should be found in one of the Regionaries Rufus.* Its conspicuous position, spanning the Sacra Via on the summit of the Velian ridge,† might have saved it from oblivion. The restoration of this arch has been executed somewhat carelessly: it is patched and put together so as to show the former dislocations. The merit of the first restoration, such as it is, is ascribed in the inscription to Pius VII., but it was the work of the French government.

The excavations of late years have laid bare masses of regularly disposed brickwork on both sides of the ancient road leading from the Coliseum to the arch of Titus on the Velia; but no name was assigned to them by any competent authority in 1854, except perhaps that those on the side of Venus and Rome were supposed to belong to the substructions of that temple.

STA. MARIA LIBERATRICE.

This church was originally dedicated to "St. Silvestro in lacu," a title which most happily preserved the me-

* Neither ancient author nor medal has any record of its existence.

† Smith's Dict., p. 809. Nibby objects to this nomenclature, and seems with hesitation to prefer the Via Sandalaria.—*For. Rom.*, p. 216.

mory of the "Lacus Juturnæ." * Indeed the very lake itself was thought to have been discovered by some late researches; but the malignant eye of a rival antiquary found out that the pretended lake was nothing but a stagnant putrid puddle, composed partly of rain-water and partly of the drippings of the neighbouring modern fountain. Such are the words of Antonio Nibby,† who wrote as if he was angry with the puddle, as well he might be; for if it were the true lake of Juturna, his Comitium and Græcostasis, his Curia, his Temple of Vesta, together with the Vulcanal Lupercal and Ruminal Fig-tree, shift their places at once, and reappear in sites most inconsistent with the conjectures of the Professor. Bunsen puts this church on the site of the Temple of Vesta.

CURIA HOSTILIA.

Travellers are taught to see the remains of the Curia Hostilia or Julia in the walls of a granary between the Three Corinthian Columns of Castor and Pollux and the church of St. Theodore, under the angle of the Palatine Hill, contiguous to the Sta. Maria Liberatrice. These walls, which are of considerable magnitude, are unquestionably ancient, and the brickwork probably belongs to the Augustan age. But it is not very satisfactory to find that the principal argument for giving

* Fea, Descr. di Roma, p. 280.
† For. Rom., p. 72, note.

so sounding a name to ruins which had hitherto almost escaped notice is, that the Curia was behind the Rostra, and that the Rostra were removed by Julius Cæsar from this ancient position to the angle of the Forum, "near the church of St. Theodore."*

CHURCH OF ST. THEODORE — TEMPLE OF ROMULUS — TEMPLE OF VESTA.

The first church of St. Theodore was probably composed, in part, of the materials of a circular Pagan temple. Pope Hadrian I., in 774, found it entirely destroyed and rebuilt it. Nicolas V., Pope from 1450 or 51, was the next restorer; but it fell into such

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* "Dal centro del lato del Foro furono da Cesare trasportati nell' angolo verso la chiesa di San Teodoro [4]." On referring to the note to account for this strange mixture of ancient sites with modern names of churches, we find a passage from Dion—*και το βημα εν μεσῳ που προτερον της αγορας ον, ες τον νυν τοπον ανεχωρισθη*,—"and the rostra, which were formerly in the middle of the Forum, were removed to their present position." The Greek historian says the rostra stood in the middle of the Forum. The essayist makes him say "the middle of the side of the Forum;" and the words "present position" are rendered by him "*the angle towards the church of St. Theodore*,"—a tolerably free translation, it must be confessed; yet, on the strength of such a version, the topographer proceeds, "Trovata la Curia," "Determinato il sito del Comitio;"[a] and, pursuing his hypothesis through all its details, he positively assigns to the Lupercal a position behind the church of Sta. Maria Liberatrice, and to the Ruminal fig-tree the very angle of the Palatine where the Comitium joined the Curia.

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[a] Ibid., pp. 59, 61.

decay that Pope Clement XI. saw it half buried in the soil and almost inaccessible, "Temporis injuria deformatum semisepultum ac fere inaccessum," and in 1705 repaired it as it is now seen, so that, whether the site was of old sacred to Vesta or to Romulus, the present edifice has no claims to antiquity.* It appears certain that the round temple on the banks of the Tiber has been improperly ceded to Vesta; but it is not so generally agreed that Romulus was not worshipped where the church of St. Theodore, called commonly Sto. Toto, now stands. The superstition which still brings sick children to this shrine seems to point out the very spot where the altar of the old founder of the city was visited for the same pious purpose. That the Temple of Vesta was somewhere in this quarter of the Forum, and near this angle of the Palatine Hill, every authority would induce us to believe. Twelve inscriptions relative to the Vestal Virgins are said to have been found in the beginning of the sixteenth century at the church of Sta. Maria Liberatrice, a circumstance that has induced some topographers to place the temple in that position; but the Fasti Consulares, now in the Capitol, were certainly found there, and an equally strong argument has been thence deduced to decide the site of the Comitium.

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* Foro Romano, p. 74.

THE THREE CORINTHIAN COLUMNS — TEMPLE OF CASTOR.

The excavations of four-and-thirty years, from 1817 to 1854, have shaken, if not destroyed, some of the certainties of former topographers. The author of the Essay on the Forum was sure that these noble remains belonged either to the Comitium or to the Græcostasis, that is, to an ancient structure rebuilt by Antoninus Pius, and serving for the reception of foreign ambassadors. The Comitium could not be applied to its original use after the popular institutions of Rome had ceased to exist; but as it appears to have served for the place of flagellation for the criminals of the imperial city, I should think that the united buildings could not have been very suitable for diplomatic ceremonies. The Abate Fea could see neither Comitium nor Græcostasis, either single or united, in these columns, which, says he, assuredly belong to the Temple of Castor and Pollux.* The Chevalier Bunsen† gave them the name of a Temple of Minerva, having previously assigned them to Castor. The excavations of the Abate have shown that this edifice did not stand, as was formerly believed, upon the declivity of the Palatine; but that it rose from a magnificent base-

* Fea, Descriz. di Roma, vol. ii. p. 274.

† Les Forum de Rome, Rome, 1837.

ment, probably used as a rostrum,* more than twenty feet in height, and ascended by a flight of steps. The internal work of the structure was of Alban stone, the external coating of marble, of which, and of the other columns (eight in front and thirteen laterally), some large fragments have been disinterred. The last, and, it appears to me, the best, authority† prefers the opinion of Fea, and by him Castor is restored to his temple.

BASILICA JULIA.

The principal discovery of late years has been that of the Basilica Julia, an edifice the site of which was scarcely guessed at when I first visited Rome, and which was recognised in 1835. The flooring of it has been laid bare, and the steps by which it was ascended also discovered, so that it is made apparent that the basement of the Basilica was considerably above the Forum. No additional fragments have been recently found belonging to this building, but, at the end towards the columns of the Temple of Castor, the remains of another very large structure, viz. parts of shafts of columns and architraves, have been disinterred, and were lying about in large fragments when I visited the spot in 1854. No certain name was then assigned to them, but Bunsen had conjectured that they belonged to a building which served as an appendage to the

* Mr. Dyer, Smith's Dictionary.
† Smith's Dictionary, p. 784.

temple of Minerva Chalcidica and the Basilica Julia, originally begun by Julius Cæsar, but finished by Augustus, and repaired by Septimius Severus, and, perhaps, by subsequent emperors.

The excavations in this quarter of the Campo Vaccino have uncovered the watercourse constructed by Ficoroni in 1742,* as we saw by a date, traced in smoke, on a broken archway of modern work. The water was running through it fast towards the Cloaca Maxima. Descending to this spot in the hole made by the excavators, then at work, and looking upwards towards the Capitol, we were made strikingly aware of the commanding position of the temples under the hill, and saw how high the hill itself must have appeared to those on the ancient level of the Roman Forum.

Between my two visits of 1843 and 1854, there had been a good deal of digging and throwing up of earth in this quarter, but I am not aware that any important discovery had been made.

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* An account of Ficoroni's excavation is given in Fea's Miscellanea, art. 80, p. clvii.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ARCO DE' PANTANI — TEMPLE OF MARS THE AVENGER.

THE great wall, with the archway called Arco de' Pantani, has always appeared to me one of the most interesting objects in Rome. The zigzag direction of the wall would seem to corroborate the curious story told of Augustus choosing to appear scrupulous about interfering with the private dwellings of the citizens, and twisting the walls of his forum accordingly. The throwing open of the convent of the Annunziata has discovered the pavement of the Forum, and of the temple, which, it may be safely believed, was dedicated to Mars the Avenger. I must add that the enormous height of this wall is not satisfactorily accounted for. Nibby's conjecture,* that it was a part of the Tullian walls of the city, does not seem tenable: but it must be confessed that, in spite of the coincidence above alluded to, it does not appear to belong to the Augustan period, nor to be of the same age as the three Corinthian columns assigned to Mars the Avenger.

* See Mura di Roma, p. 37.

Until lately this very ancient structure seems to have been comparatively overlooked. So little attention was paid to it, that, in order to enlarge the contiguous nunnery, part of it was pulled down, and then were found those beams of wood pointed at both ends, and dove-tailed into the masonry, to which a very ancient date has been assigned,* but which were so fresh and uninjured that they were used for carpenters' work at the time of their discovery. The story is told by Vacca.

The peperine blocks of this wall are not quite so large as those described by Dionysius as employed by Tarquinius Priscus (as large as a cart, a favourite expression of Greek writers), but they are of great dimensions, and would serve for the defences of a city. Pliny says that the Tullian walls were seen in his time. The projecting cornices are of travertine, a mixture found in the church of Sta. Maria Egizziaca, called Temple of Patrician Modesty—certainly of a Republican date.

That the wall, whatever was its original design, was turned into the enclosure of a forum, there can be little doubt. The arch of Pantani and the other four arches, still visible, but now built up, are evidences of that fact. The cornice of brickwork, which forms an angle with the ancient wall, and runs under the roofs of several modern houses, might possibly be found to be the summit of some old structure if the houses were re-

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* Winkelmann, Storia, &c., tom. iii. p. 31.

moved.* It is not easy to distinguish the ancient from the walls of the middle ages in this quarter. Some of the brickwork of the 'Tor de' Conti' appears older than the date of the tower, and may have been part of the enclosure of the forum of Cæsar, of which some remains, as before mentioned, are thought to be seen behind the church of Cosmas and Damianus.

I am at a loss to understand how so enormous a work, differing altogether from the surrounding buildings, even from those which we are accustomed to consider belonged to ancient Rome, should have been suffered to remain in the heart of the town, and have survived all the successive accidents, changes, and embellishments of the Republican and Imperial city; nor do I at all see how the forum of Nerva, or of Augustus, as it is called by some, with all its splendid marble edifices, could have been appropriately flanked by such a rude and incongruous structure.

The temple, whether of Mars or of Nerva, one of the most magnificent and highly ornamented in Rome, was built up against the great wall, and the contrast between the material and the shape of the two structures must

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* Mr. Dyer, in Dr. Smith's Dictionary (pp. 798-99), in his notice of the Forums of Augustus and Cæsar, is not so satisfactory as usual. It is difficult to make out from him to which Forum the great wall belonged. There is a sort of double wall, about 105 common paces in length, not noticed in the guide-books, extending from this quarter towards the Forum of Trajan, and to this Forum the Arco de' Pantani was formerly thought to belong.

have been much more striking when they were both entire than at the present day. The nunnery, which has succeeded to the temple, prevents a complete inspection of this most interesting and perplexing monument of times long past.

THE COLUMN AND FORUM OF TRAJAN.

On the balustrade of the modern Capitol, under Ara Cœli, there is a column surmounted by a large bronze globe, which an inscription at the base of the column asserts to have contained the ashes of Trajan, but on what authority no one has yet discovered. There was a precedent for placing a cinerary urn on the top of such columns,* but the remains of Trajan were buried in a golden urn under the column,† and continued in that

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* A medal of Vespasian has been found with a column surmounted by an urn. See Joseph. Castalionis, *de Colum. Triump. Comment. ap. Grœv. Antiq. Rom.*, tom. iv. p. 1947.

† Τὰ δὲ τοῦ Τραϊανου ὀστᾶ ἐν τῷ κιόνι αὐτοῦ κατετέθη. Dion. *Hist. Rom.*, lib. lxix. tom. ii. p. 1150, edit. Hamb. 1750. "Sunt qui in pila, quam tenebat Colossus, cineres conditos dicunt: quo fundamento adhuc requiro."—See Comment. to lib. lxviii. tom. ii. p. 1133, of the Xylandro-Leunclavian version.

"Ossa in urna aurea collocata sub Columna Fori quæ ejus nomine vocitatur, recondita sunt, cujus columnæ altitudo in 140 pedes erigitur."—Cassiod. *in Chronic.*, p. 388, tom. i. fo. 1679. Cassiodorus must be reckoned good authority for what he tells of the Rome which he saw, although his chronicle from the beginning of the world to the year 519 must be expected to be *rather* inaccurate. For a character of this writer, and for the question whether there were not two Cassiodorus, father and son, to whom the actions of the one should be attributed, see Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.*, tom. iii. lib. i. cap. i.

depository in the time of Theodoric. The value of the urn was sure to be fatal to the deposit; but we know nothing of the time when poverty and rapine had lost all respect for the remains of the best of the Roman princes. An absurd story, which was current in the *English* churches in the ninth century, would make us suppose that the Christians condescended to except Trajan from the usual condemnation of pagans, and that Gregory the Great, in passing through the Forum, was moved to compassion for the emperor in purgatory, and prayed for and liberated his soul.* The diminished charity of future zeal induced Bellarmine and the graver writers to reject this narration as *a putid* fable, and for the best of reasons, since St. Gregory himself, in the fourth book of his Dialogues (cap. 44.), has declared, "that we should not pray for the devil and his angels reserved for eternal punishment, nor for infidels, nor the impious defunct."† The report, however, of Gregory's biographers must make us think that the ashes had not

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* The story is told by Paul the Deacon and by John the Deacon; the latter says he heard it in some English churches. See previous notice of the Forum of Trajan.

† "Docet orandum non esse pro diabolo, angelisque ejus æterno supplicio deputatis, neque pro infidelibus hominibus impiisque defunctis."—See *Dissertat.* v. de Romanis Imperatorib. ap. Io. Laurent. Berti. *Histor. Ecclesi.* &c., tom. ii. p. 72, Bassani. 1769.

Tiraboschi laughs at John of Salisbury for telling the story of Trajan's liberation from Hell by Gregory; but he praises John the Deacon, who had not mentioned the burning of the Palatine library by the Pontiff, forgetting that John had told the story about Trajan. —*Storia della Lett. Ital.*, tom. iii. lib. ii. pp. 106 and 111.

yet been removed from the column, for if they had, it might have been forgotten, as at present, that this monument was ever a place of sepulture.

The Romans, having performed one great work, chose to commemorate it by another. The stranger, at the first sight of the column, naturally expects to find that the inscription will refer to the virtues, or at least the victories, of the prince whose exploits are sculptured upon it, but he reads only that the pillar was raised to show how much of the hill, and to what height had, with infinite labour, been cleared away.* The historian Dion shows he can never have read this simple inscription, when he says that the column was raised by Trajan, "*partly* for a sepulchre, as well as for an evidence of the labour with which the Forum was made."† The first object does not appear to have been entertained by Trajan or the senate. No emperor had been buried within the city, and it was Hadrian who transferred his

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* Senatus, Populusque Romanus
Imp. Caes. Divi. Nervæ. F. Trajano. Aug. Germa
nico. Dacico. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. XII. Cos. XI. P. P.
Ad Declarandum. Quantæ. Altitudinis.
Mons. Et. Locus. Tan. [*tis. operi* or *ruderi*] bus. Sit. Egestus.

The hill was not scooped out where the column stands, but, perhaps, behind to the north, about where the Palazzo Imperiale now stands.[a] An ancient portico was destroyed to give space in this direction.

† Ἅμα μὲν ἐς ταφὴν ἑαυτῷ ἅμα δὲ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔργου, κ. τ. λ. *Hist. Rom.* lib. 68, p. 1133, tom. ii.

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[a] See Ant. Nibby's Appendix to Nardini, tom. ii.

predecessors' bones to this unusual and conspicuous position.

The forum of Trajan served, amongst other purposes, to perpetuate the memory of the good and great, or of such as, in those declining ages, could pretend to that distinction. But, lest there should be any want of subjects, young men of great promise, who had died in the flower of their age, were honoured with a statue.* We know that Marcus Aurelius erected statues in this Forum to some of those who fell in the German war, and that Alexander Severus transferred thither those of other celebrated personages from other sites; amongst them was one of Augustus, *ex electro*, and another of Nicomedes, in ivory.† The same place was devoted to the labours and the rewards of literary heroes: here the poets and others recited their compositions, perhaps in the Ulpian library, whose treasures were transferred by Diocletian to his own Thermæ; and here their images were allowed a place amongst conquerors and monarchs. The prefect Aurelius Symmachus, whom his contemporaries thought superior to Tully,‡ Claudian and Aurelius Victor, were, we may suspect, the most worthy ornaments of the Forum. But the honours of the statue were conferred on inferior personages: Sidonius Apolli-

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* Plin. lib. ii. epist. vii.

† Euseb. in Chronic. Lamprid. in vit. Sever. Nardini, lib. v. cap. ix.

‡ —— cui cedat et ipse
Tullius. Prudent.

naris,* Marius Victorinus, the schoolmaster, Proæresius, the *king of eloquence*, we know were there,† and these may have been associated with the meaner names of Minervius, Sedatus, and Palladius, with Ælius Donatus, with Nonius Marcellus of Tivoli, Sextus Pompeius Festus, Servius the commentator, Prætextatus the friend of Macrobius, and that more valuable writer himself. There also may have been seen, Eutropius, the lost historians Flavius Dexter, and Nicomachus Flavianus,‡ the almost unknown Optatian, and Perphinius. Even in the Gothic reigns, the custom of raising statues, at least to princes, appears to have prevailed. Mention is made by Procopius of statues of Theodoric, and Theodatus, and Justinian, and it is probable these might have been in the Forum of Trajan.§ The sight of this Forum would furnish a singular supplement to ancient history, and rescue from oblivion many who were as much the delight and admiration of their contemporaries as Cicero or Virgil.

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* Carmina, 7 and 8.

† "Regina rerum Roma Regi Eloquentiæ." So the inscription ran. Eunap. in vit. Sophist. 1, 8.

‡ Cecina Decius and Albinus, the regionaries, the authors of the Tables of Peutinger and the Antonine Itineraries, and other writers, have been enumerated by the industry of Fabricius, *Bib. Lat.*

§ De Bello Gothico, lib. i. cap. 24. Here Procopius names *the Forum* as the place where the miraculous *mosaic* image of Theodoric was raised, and fell to pieces gradually with the Gothic kingdom; the head with Theodoric, the belly with Theodatus, and the lower parts with Amalasuntha; but in lib. iii. cap. xx. other statues are mentioned.

Fragments of statues and pedestals were dug up in the great excavation, but only five inscriptions, of which four were copies of each other and in honour of Trajan,* were discovered by the labourers. The first of these, however, confirms the above remark, and has for the first time introduced to the modern world Flavius Merobaudes,†

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* Senatus, Populusque Romanus
Imp. Cæsari. Divi
Nervæ. F. Nervæ
Trajano. Augusto
Germanico. Dacico
Pontif. Max. Tribunicia
Potest. XVI. Imp. VI. cos. VI. PP.
Optime de Republica
Merito. Domi Forisque.

† Fl. Merobaudi aeque forti et docto viro tam facere
Laudanda quam aliorum facta laudare præcipuo
Castrensi experientia claro facundia vel otiosorum
Studia supergresso cui a crepundiis par virtutis et elo
Quentiæ cura ingenium ita fortitudini ut doctrinæ
Natum stilo et gladio pariter exercuit. Nec in umbra
Vel latebris mentis vigorem scholari tantum otio.
Torpere passus. Inter arma litteris militabat
Et in Alpibus acuebat eloquium, ideo illi cessit in præmium
Non verbena vilis nec otiosa hedera honor capitis
Heliconius sed imago ære formata quo rari exempli
Viros seu in castris probatos seu optimos vatum
Antiquitas honorabat quod huic quoque cum
Augustissimis Roma Principibus
Theodosio et Placido Valentiniano Rerum Dominis
In Foro Ulpio detulerunt remunerantes in viro
Antiquæ nobilitatis novæ gloriæ vel industriam
Militarem vel carmen cujus præconio gloria
Triumphali crevit imperio.
Dedicata III. Cal. Aug. Conss. DD. NN.
Theodosio XV. et Valentiniano. IIII.

a person whose merits were of the most exalted description, and, so they thought in the days of Theodosius and Valentinian, comparable to the most extraordinary characters of antiquity.

It may have been seen from former remarks, that at an early period, which cannot exactly be fixed, the Forum of Trajan, the noblest structure of all Rome, had partaken of the general desolation.* From the moment we find a church there, we may be sure the destruction had begun. This was as early as the beginning of the twelfth century, and as that church was probably built, not on the ancient flooring, the soil had already buried the ground plan of the Forum. The three churches, and the three towers raised by Boniface VIII., as well as the two hundred houses which were levelled with the ground by Paul III. in 1536, were on the modern level, and as their date must have gone back to the foundation of the churches, we may fairly pronounce that long previously to the twelfth century the base of the Quirinal had begun to assume its ancient form ere it had been cleared away by the subjects of Trajan.†

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* The bronze roof of the Basilica, the wonder of Pausanias, must have tempted the spoiler.

† To this Forum late writers have attached the brick semicircular structure wantonly called the Baths of Paulus Æmilius. Those remains stand apparently on a level gained by the cutting down of the Quirinal; but the excavations which discovered the lower range of porticoes faced with travertine, and evidently meant to be occasionally shut up, for the grooves of doors are seen, have done nothing towards deciding on the true character of the ancient building.

Paul III. opened the base of the column,* and in the time of Flaminius Vacca an arch was dug from underground, perhaps in the pontificate of the same pope, and the flooring of the Forum was discovered, but immediately shut up again.† The French excavation enables us at last to tread the floor of ancient Rome.‡ The replacing the fragments of the columns on their bases, and the judicious arrangement of the other marbles, has created an effect little inferior to the wonders of Pompej. The stranger must be much struck with the massive *Greek* dimensions of the fragments, when compared with the space in which so many buildings were raised.§ Here we have a forum with its porticoes, and statues, and tribunals; a basilica, with a double in-

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* See previous notice of the Forum.

† Memorie, ap. Montfaucon, Diar. Ital., p. 187.

‡ Of all the exploits of the French administration, the clearing the Forum and Column of Trajan was the most important and successful, and would have been still more so if the churches of "Our Lady of Loretto" and the "Name of Mary" could have been removed, so that the column might be in the middle of the Forum. That this would have been accomplished, if the authorities had not been deterred by prudential considerations, we know by Count Tournon's interesting volumes (vol. ii. p. 275).

§ The giant texture of the Forum, the work of Apollodorus, struck Constantius dumb with astonishment. "Verum cum ad Trajani forum venisset singularem sub omni cœlo structuram, ut opinor etiam numinum assentione mirabilem, hærebat attonitus, per giganteos contextus circumferens mentem nec relatu effabiles, nec rursus mortalibus appetendos."—Amm. Marcel., lib. xvi. cap. x. p. 145. Cassiodorus calls it a miracle. It was doubtless altogether the most extraordinary object in Rome. "Trajani forum vel sub assiduitate videre miraculum est."—Lib. vii. p. 113, edit. 1679.

ternal portico on every side; a quadrangular court, or atrium, also adorned with enormous columns; two libraries; a triumphal arch; the great column and the portion of a temple,* crowded into a space not so considerable as one of our smallest London squares. Whatever the earth covered of these magnificent structures is now exposed to view, and the remnants are sufficient to show what must be the subterranean riches of Rome. We may find it difficult to account for there being so much or so little left. Buildings composed of columns were certain to be soon despoiled for the service of modern edifices: but the flooring of some of the many fragments are so perfect as to make the sudden burial of these parts of the city more probable than the gradual decay. The bronze statues had, however, been previously removed, if such an accident did overwhelm the Forum, for none were found. The head of the colossal statue of Trajan was extant in the sixteenth century.†

Trajan was *proverbially* the best of the Roman princes,‡ and it would be easier to find a sovereign uniting exactly the opposite characteristics than one

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* The Temple seems to have been behind the Column, where huge fragments of columns have been found and are still to be seen in the cellars of a neighbouring palace, called the Palazzo Imperiale.

† Ciacconius de Colon. Trajan.

‡ "Hujus tantùm memoriæ delatum est ut, usque ad nostram ætatem non aliter in Senatu principibus acclamatur, nisi, FELICIOR . AVGVSTO . MELIOR . TRAJANO . "—Eutrop. *Brev. Hist. Rom.*, lib. viii. cap. v.

possessed of all the happy qualities ascribed to this emperor. "When he mounted the throne," says the historian Dion,* "he was strong in body, he was vigorous in mind; age had impaired none of his faculties; he was altogether free from envy and from detraction; he honoured all the good and he advanced them, and on this account they could not be the objects of his fear or of his hate; he never listened to informers; he gave not way to his anger; he abstained equally from unfair exactions and unjust punishments; he had rather be loved as a man than honoured as a sovereign; he was affable with his people, respectful to the senate, and universally beloved by both; he inspired none with dread but the enemies of his country."

THE BATHS OF TITUS.

These have disappeared since my first visit in 1817. Neither the painted vaults on the side of the Monte Oppio—or Carinæ, as some would call it—nor the arcaded ruins on the summit of that eminence of the

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* Τῷ τε γὰρ σώματι ἐῤῥώτο . . . . . καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἤκμαζεν, ὡς μήθ' ὑπὸ γήρως ἀμβλύνεσθαι . . . . καὶ οὐτ' ἐφθόνει, οὔτε καθήρει τινὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντας τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐτίμα καὶ ἐμαγάλυνε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἐφοβεῖτό τινα αὐτῶν, οὔτε ἐμίσει . . διαβολαῖς τε ἥκιστα ἐπίστευε καὶ ὀργῇ ἥκιστα ἐδουλοῦτο· τῶν τε χρημάτων τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἴσα καὶ φόνων τῶν ἀδίκων ἀπείχετο . . . . φιλούμενός τε οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοις μᾶλλον ἢ τιμώμενος ἔχαιρε, καὶ τῷ τε δήμῳ μετ' ἐπιεικείας συνεγίνετο, καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ σεμνοπρεπῶς ὡμίλει· ἀγαπητὸς μὲν πᾶσι· φοβερὸς δὲ μηδενὶ, πλὴν πολεμίοις, ὢν.—*Hist. Rom.*, lib. lxviii. cap. vi. and vii. tom. ii. p. 1123, 1124, edit. Hamb. 1750.

Esquiline are now believed to have belonged to the Baths of Titus, which, it seems, were on the level ground near the Coliseum, the Campus Neronianus of the preceding age. The vaults, still adorned with the arabesques imitated by Raphael, have become part of the Golden House of Nero, and the ruins on the hill above are the Baths of Trajan. On these points the treatise of Stefano Piale—at least, so far as demolishing the claims of Titus to the Baths is concerned—appears quite conclusive.*

But a strip of pavement lately (1843) cleared is still said to belong to the house of Mæcenas, and the plinths of the two columns are still assigned to the portico of Nero's Golden House. No changes have taken place in that respect. The arabesques and the hole by which Raphael entered, and the long corridors, and the little baths are in the same condition as they were ten years ago; no work is now going on here (1854).

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* "Delle Terme Trajane dette dal volgo erroneamente di Tito, &c. &c. Da Stefano Piale Romano." Rome, 1832. I confess I do not agree with the author of the article in Dr. Smith's Dictionary (p. 847), who, with Vignoli and other antiquarians, thinks that Trajan only repaired and enlarged the Baths of Titus.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PALATINE AND ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

THE troops of Genseric occupied the Palatine and despoiled it of all its riches. The ruin of the structures themselves is involved in the most impenetrable obscurity: nor have the immense masses which remain assisted, though they have stimulated, research. Theodoric found their beauty admirable,* but impaired by age. From that moment the palace of the Cæsars disappears, and the labours of the antiquary have been unable to produce more than a single word to show that it was not ruined by Totila, which is the general belief. Anastasius, in the life of Pope Constantine who was elected in 708, narrating a civil commotion which took place in Rome against the emperor Philip, has these words: "And it came to pass that while Christopher, who was duke, was contending on this account with Agatho and his followers, a civil war arose, so that they came to arms in the sacred way *before the*

* "Quando pulchritudo illa mirabilis, si subinde non reficitur, senectute obrepente vitiatur."—Cassiod. Variar., lib. vii. epist. v.

palace."* What a fate! The palace may have been a fragment, or, as it now is, a word.

When the Palatine again rises, it rises in ruins. A corner of the structures had served to lodge the Frangipane family. The Turris Cartularia included a portion of the Palatine mansions and the arch of Titus.† It was thrown down in 1240 by Gregory IX., was rebuilt, and shortly after destroyed by the people.

The pilgrim of the thirteenth century who talks of the imperial palace must be alluding to *sites*, not buildings. In the beginning of the fifteenth century there was not a single edifice standing on the whole mount except the church of St. Nicholas, built by Pope Calixtus,‡ which was itself in ruins.

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* "Et factum est dum Christophorus, qui erat Dux, ob hanc causam cum Agathone et suis hominibus concertarent, bellum civile exortum est, ita ut in via sacra ante palatium sese committerent," &c.—De vitis Roman. Pontif. ap. *Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. iii. p. 153.

† It was one of the strong houses of the Frangipane to which Pope Innocent II. retreated in 1138, in his struggles with the Antipope Anaclete II. See Onuph. Panvinius de gente Frangepanica, ap. Marangoni Dell' memorie sacre e profane dell' Anfiteatro Flavio, Roma, 1746, p. 31, 52, edit. 1746. Alexander III. also retired thither in 1167. A portion of it was standing in 1817; but this, as well as some contiguous structures of the middle ages, had disappeared when I afterwards visited Rome. I doubt the utility of removing these historic buildings when the date of them has been so decidedly recognised as to prevent all future mistake (1857).

‡ "Multo autem pauciora habet integra Palatinus mons quam Capitolinus aut Aventinus, nam præter S. Nicolai ecclesiam a Calixto Papa ædificatam, quæ et male integra cernitur nullum is celeberrimus mons habet ædificium."—Flav. Blond. *Roma Inst.*, lib. i. fol. 11.

The Farnese family were ambitious of a summer-house in the imperial precincts. They levelled, they built, and they planted; Michael Angelo designed, Raffael painted, and the master-pieces of ancient sculpture, statues, reliefs, and coloured marbles, were drawn from beneath the ruins of Caracalla's baths and of the Flavian amphitheatre for the embellishment of the rising villa. Following antiquaries, from Donatus * to Venuti,† were pleased to remark that these peopled gardens had succeeded to the solitude of the long-neglected hill. The extinction or aggrandisement of the Farnese dukes stripped this retreat as well as the palace of the family, of all its treasures.‡ Naples was again fated to be enriched by the plunder of Rome. The Palatine villa was abandoned, and in less than half a century § has fallen to the ground. The naked fountain and twisted steps of Michael Angelo, and the cockle-shell incrusted walls, form a singular contrast with the lofty arcades on the Cæsarean side.

The Palatine was never entirely covered with structures; space must be left for gardens, for a manege,

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* "Nunc tanta moles vel suis obruta ruinis est; vel parietibus ac porticibus informis vel transiit in amœnitatem Farnesiorum hortorum."—Donat., lib. iii. cap. ii.

† Roma moderna, &c. Rione xii. tom. ii. p. 396.

‡ The great Campo Fiore palace is much neglected; it requires a princely court to occupy it; and the Neapolitan ambassador is lost in *one* of the suites of *one* of the stories of *one* of the sides of the vast square.

§ Venuti (ibid.) seems to have seen it entire.

and for a hippodrome.* Antiquaries, to prove the latter, have been obliged to have recourse to the acts of the martyrs, but there are evident signs of the Course in one of the gardens. There are abundant materials for dispute in the masses of the palace, which cased the whole hill in brickwork, and of the many temples which lodged the gods that watched over the Emperor.† A view of the Palatine ruins, in Paul V.'s time,‡ marks a temple of Orcus, a temple of Cybele, a temple of Heliogabalus, to all which other names have succeeded with equal authority. The precise details of Bianchini,§ who dissected the soil and assigned to all the ruins above and below their distinct character and function, have retained few believers even amongst the Romans. A subterranean cell, in the vineyard of the Farnese gardens, still preserves the name of the Baths of Livia, for some reason not apparent in the construction or site. The King of Naples has kindly not stripped off all the arabesques, but left a portion to show how the whole apartments were once adorned. These paintings do not suffer so much from the oozing of the saltpetre as when exposed to the external air, as they have found in the open chambers of the Baths of Titus. The gilding

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* St. Sebastian was shot with arrows, as we see in so many fine pictures, in the hippodrome of the palace.

† See quotation from Claud. in vi. Cons. Honor. in previous notice. Nardini, lib. vi. cap. xiii. and xiv. reckons nineteen at least.

‡ Vedute degli antichi vestigj, &c.

§ Palazzo de' Cesari.

preserves its freshness, and the outlines their edge, and seem liable to no injury but from the torches of the guides.

Several blocks of sculptured marble above the ruins of the summer house, are honoured with the name of the Palatine Apollo. Of this temple, an early topographer thought he saw some vestiges overlooking the Circus Maximus on the other side of the hill.

A contiguous portion of the Palatine is occupied by the kitchen gardens and vineyards of the Casino Spada, or Magnani, which the pretended frescoes of Raphael have not preserved from ruin. Half a century ago a tower looking over the site of the Circus Maximus, and which made part of the Cæsarean palace, was restored. But the curse of Jerusalem hangs over this hill—it is again in ruins. In this quarter is shown a suite of subterranean chambers, usually denominated the Baths of Nero; for this Emperor being a great builder, is generally called in to father all unknown remains. An Englishman excavated these chambers in 1777, and the ground of the villa is now at the disposal of any one who chooses to pay a very moderate sum for so imperial a purchase, and the pleasure of experiments.*

The Palatine, it has been remarked, has, no less than the valleys, been encumbered with accumulated soil. These chambers were surely above ground. No descent to them was discovered, but has been since constructed.

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* Written in 1817.

The next garden and vineyard, for so the Palatine is now divided, is in possession of the Anglo-Irish college, and some rustic or playful antiquaries had, in 1817, chalked upon the gateway, "The *Hippodrome, the Temple of Apollo, the house of the Vestals.*" The shape of the vineyard does resemble a place for equestrian exercises. Apollo and the Vestals may be lodged at will in any of the towering vaults or underground crypts of these enormous masses.

You may explore for hours either above or below, through the arched corridors, or on the platforms whose stuccoed floorings have resisted a thousand winters, and serve as a roof to the ruins beneath. From the corner of this platform there is one of the most impressive views of the Coliseum and the remains of the old city, both within and without the walls. The long lines of aqueducts stretched across the bare campagna, are the arms of the fallen giant. The look of these great structures, built for some purpose which the shrunk condition of the modern city did not render apparent, made a Roman of the fifteenth century call them *insane.** Your walks in the Palatine ruins, if it be one of the many days when the labourers do not work, will be undisturbed, unless you startle a fox in breaking through the brambles in the corridors, or burst unawares through the hole of some shivered fragments into one of the half

* "Celsos fornices et insana acquæductorum opera perlustrans," F. Blond. *Roma Inst.*, lib. iii. fo. 3, if he did not mean *broken*.

buried chambers which the peasants have blocked up to serve as stalls for their jackasses, or as huts for those who watch the gardens. The smoke of their wood-fires has not hidden the stuccoes and deeply indented mouldings of the imperial roofs. The soil accumulated in this quarter has formed a slope on the side of the ruins, and some steps have been adjusted into the bank. Half way up an open oratory has been niched into a wall.

Religion is still triumphant after the fall of the palace of the Cæsars, the towers of feudal lords, and the villas of papal princes. The church and contiguous monastery of St. Bonaventura preserve a spark of life upon the site of the town of Romulus.* The only lane which crosses the Palatine, leads to this church between dead walls, where the stations of the *via crucis* divert the attention from the fall of the Cæsars, to the sublimer and more humiliating sufferings of God himself. The tall fragments of the imperial ruins rising from a hill, which seems one wide field of crossed and trellised reeds hung round with vines, form the most striking portion of the prospect of the old town, seen from the platform

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* The order of St. Francis are masters of the Palatine, as well as the Capitoline summit. One series of pictures represents those of their order who have been Popes or Cardinals, another all those who have been Generals of it; a third, are all those who have made saints, or beatified, or whose "offices" were celebrated in the Roman ritual,—a most formidable list. I found at my visit in 1842 that a part of the property of the Franciscan Convent had been sold to the Apostolic Camera.

of St. Pietro *in Montorio*, or the other eminences beyond the Tiber. They are so thickly strewn, and so massive, that it is not surprising the inhabitants of the rising town chose rather to seek for other sites, than to attempt to clear them away. But they are not without their use, for the flagging vapours of the malaria are supposed to settle round their summits, as well as those of the Coliseum, and thus to spare the modern city.

Where all repair has been hopeless, the descendants of those who reared these mighty fabrics converted the desolation of the ancient city to the purposes of other havoc. They scraped the old walls of the Palatine, as well as those of the Baths of Titus, for saltpetre, of which a manufacture was established in both those positions; and thus, if the phrase may be used, ruin begot ruin, destruction propagated destruction.

Less has been written on this, the parent Hill, than on any of the Roman antiquities. Bufalini, in 1561, published a plan, and Panvinius, in his work on the Circensian games, treated of some of the ruins; but Bianchini's, up to a late period, was the only work dedicated solely to the Palatine structures, and that did not appear until after his death. Poor Guattini, in 1785, wrote an essay on the House of Augustus, and the common guide books parcelled out the antiquities according to the usual method, and with the usual success; but in 1828 was published in Rome a quarto, with this title, 'Il Palazzo de' Cesari sul Monte Palatino restaurato da COSTANTINO THON, Architetto della Corte di Russia,

&c. Illustrato da Vicenzo Ballanti, &c.' The engravings accompanying this work are in large folio, and show the actual state of the Palace of the Cæsars, as well as representations of certain architectural fragments found upon the Hill, besides giving a restored palace of the Cæsars on a large scale and an imaginary temple of the Palatine Apollo. This handsome work was dedicated to the Emperor Nicholas, and is not unworthy of the Imperial patronage; but I cannot say that I found it of much use to me during my later visits to Rome. It is full of conjectural temples, palaces, houses, and libraries; but, except the "giardino del Signor Mills," and the "orti del Collegio Inglese," I recognized very little of anything of which I felt perfectly secure.

The Signor Ballanti confesses that little or nothing can be known of buildings existing on this spot in the time of Evander, excepting a few temples and a site or two, such as that of the Lupercal, which was certainly to be found above the church of Sta. Maria Liberatrice; but Signor Thon, the artist, in 1826, discovered vestiges of a round temple on the declivity immediately above the church just mentioned, "which must have belonged "to the Temple of Victory originally founded by Evander.* Also on the angle of the hill above the church "of St. Anastasia certain peperine fragments have been "long discovered, but, incredible as it may seem, no one

* "La prima fondazione di questo tempio al dire di Dionisio nel lib. i. deve attribuirsi ad Evandro."—Palazzo de' Cesari, p. 17.

" recognised them to be fragments of a round temple,* " perhaps of Ceres, and built on the site of that erected " by Evander to the same goddess." Of the Temple of the Palatine Ceres, together with that of Apollo and the Augustan gods, the artist Thon discovered the circular form more distinctly than it had been before recognised. No classical author had indicated the precise position of the united temples of Cybele, Bacchus, and Juno Sospita; but Mr. Thon found the vestiges of them on the left of the convent of S. Bonaventura. He assigns also sites to the Temples of Jupiter Propugnator and Minerva, which unfortunately have not left any vestiges; "but " perhaps the spot called 'St. Sebastian in Pallara' may " indicate where Pallas was once worshipped."

" Cicero, Scaurus and Clodius lived somewhere on the declivity opposite to the church of S. Gregorio; so did Dionysius and Q. Catulus. Many other private houses were also to be found there, not worth mentioning, excepting that of Vitruvius of Fondi, of whom, unfortunately, nothing is known." †

Descending to the Imperial structures, I find, from this treatise, that the House of Augustus (at the south-west of the Villa Mills, or Palatina) was first excavated by a Frenchman, Rancouvril, the owner of the Villa Spada in 1775. He was rewarded by finding the Apollo Sauroctonus and the two Ledas, besides other inferior marbles. A great part of the excavation was filled up

* Palazzi de' Cesari, p. 18. † Ib. p. 30.

again; but Guattani, in his '*Monumenti Inediti*,' gives an exact description of the original appearance of the remains. Plans of them were also published by Barberi and Piranesi. The descent to this house has been made practicable by a flight of fifty steps. How a palace on a hill could subside so deeply under ground, or how the soil could accumulate so high above it, I am not able to understand. There is so little depth of earth here that grass will not grow and trees soon die, as their roots find no nutriment in the crumbled brick-work of which the greater part of the whole Palatine Hill may be said to be composed.

Three steps of the curve of a theatre are observable in this quarter, on the side towards the Circus Maximus.

The so-called Baths of Livia are only some chambers of the House of Augustus, on which he subsequently founded the pronaos of the Temple of Apollo.

The Temple of Apollo, according to Thon and Ballanti, has left remains of the cell and the inclosure, besides the great ruins of the Palatine Library. Many of the statues of this temple were discovered in the time of Vacca, who calls them Amazons. In the time of Bianconi (1720) the vaulted chambers were cleared, and two more compartments discovered; but the walls above were always as they are now seen since any modern notice has been taken of them. Such were the principal edifices constructed on this Hill by Augustus—"*in gran parte ancora esistente*," says Signor Ballanti.

The HOUSE OF TIBERIUS and his Library were on that

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part of the Palatine overlooking the Church of S. Anastasia, the south-west angle. The HOUSE OF CALIGULA was, as before mentioned, on the side overlooking the Forum. Amongst the vast remains which form part of it there are two walls much larger than the rest, *perhaps*, says Ballanti, part of the Temple of Augustus built by Caligula. Two other larger walls are also here discovered, *perhaps*, according to the same authority, part of the Temple of Caligula himself, where he sat to be adored. On the terraces above these ruins the Republican Government of 1849 gave a fête, and Trattorias were established in the vaults. The part of the Palace principally built by Nero is thought by these authorities, as well as by others, to be that looking towards St. Gregorio and the Celian mount. This part of the Palace was much restored by Septimius Severus. Nero also constructed the principal entrance towards the Sacred Way, and Domitian rebuilt it. Some of the substructions have been discovered in front of the Church of St. Francesca Romana. Domitian raised and planted what he called the GARDEN of Adonis; Alexander Severus added the Diæta Mammæa, and adorned the Palace with his far-famed "Opus Alexandrinum." The access to this portion of the Cæsarean Palace had in 1842 been rendered more easy by a flight of steps and a stone bench for a resting place. The ruins here were as wild and majestic at that day as when I saw them a quarter of a century before. From the summit of the long stuccoed terrace, which was the floor of the third story of the

Palace, may be enjoyed a view to which the world cannot furnish an equal. I regret to say that, having repeatedly surveyed the Palatine ruins, I must repeat that, with all this learning in my hand, I had the bad fortune to find nothing more than I had seen in former visits. I looked from the angle of the terrace in the Farnese Gardens, towards Sta. Maria Liberatrice, and saw nothing corresponding to "the little bit of a segment of a circular wall" which the discoverer traces back to Evander. I had no better success when searching for the peperine fragments of the Temple of Ceres, above St. Anastasia. Indeed the gardener, who conducted our researches in 1828, denied that any excavations had been made at the period assigned to them only two years before (1826), and calling aloud to some peasants who were working in the garden below, he asked them if they had heard of any excavations? "Excavations!" replied the men, "to be sure we have, and we are making them now!" They were digging holes for vine plants.

The great ruins in the Farnesi Gardens, assigned to the Palatine Library, were choked up with brambles and brick-work, and I had some difficulty in tearing my way through them to read an inscription recording a former attempt by Francis I., Duke of Parma, to restore the glories of the Imperial House. A donkey was tethered in the thicket by the side of some ashes of a gipsey fire.

It seems strange that these remains of ancient Empire, when once partially rescued from the ravages of time,

should again be abandoned to desolation and neglect. Fragments of sculptured marble are still scattered over the contiguous ilex grove in which the "ARCADI" held their sittings, and in a hole lately dug I saw, in 1828, a fluted column, which the royal landlord of these gardens would not suffer to be removed.

Something even of the decoration of the Imperial apartments has been seen by modern eyes. One of the great subterranean saloons, discovered in the time of Innocent X., was found to be covered with gold tapestry, which fell to pieces when exposed to the air, and another compartment was seen to be inlaid with silver. The declivity of the Palatine, opposite to S. Gregorio, was excavated at this time (1645 to 1655), and was a mine of antiquarian treasure. Besides a great quantity of statues and precious marbles of every description, there was found an iron chest, containing all the implements of sacrifice, and, more curious than all, there was found a small chamber, about twelve palms wide, with a leaden coating on every side, between which and the walls a quantity of gold coin was discovered, and led to the conjecture that this was the position of the Imperial Treasury.*

This part of the Hill is now (1854) one mass of overgrown, choked-up ruins, partially contrived to serve as terraces attached to the Franciscan Convent above. The refectory of the good Fathers was a reservoir in the

* Bartoli, Mem. ix.

time of the Cæsars.* Not long after my first visit in 1817, a portion of the Palatine Hill, once the Villa Spada, or Magnani, before mentioned, was purchased by an Englishman of the name of Mills, and the villa which was constructed there was for some time, even after the death of that gentleman, called the Villa Mills. It is now called the "Vigna Palatina."

This building, with its Chinese monsters and its Dutch garden and high clipped hedgerows, that entirely shut out the view of the great ruins below, has entirely disfigured this portion of the Palatine, except perhaps the terraces which overlook the Circus Maximus, and the tall ruins of the so-called Palace or Tower of Nero. The exclusion of visitors from the Vigna Palatina, except on stated days, has much detracted from the interest of the Imperial Hill. In 1817 I used to ramble over it when and where I pleased. It has now (1854) on company days all the crowd and clatter of a sea-side promenade. The subterranean chambers, called "Camere d' Augusto," are kept under lock and key.†

ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

The first notice of the change which made Christianity the religion of the Roman world is to be found on this arch.

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* Bartoli, Mem. v.

† I hear some Portuguese nuns have now a convent on the Palatine in this quarter.—1858.

Imp. Caes. Fl. Constantino Maximo
P. F. Augusto. S. P. Q. R.
Quod Instinctu Divinitatis mentis
Magnitudine, cum exercitu suo
Tam de Tyranno Quam de omni ejus
Factione, uno Tempore Justis
Rempublicam ultus est armis
Arcum triumphis insignem Dicavit.

The record of the Divine instinct which, added to his magnanimity and his army, induced Constantine to march to Rome, shows that the stories of the Labarum and of the other prodigies which preceded the victories of the great Emperor are probably almost as old as his conversion; but the "instinctu Divinitatis" have been substituted for some erased letters. The inscriptions SIC. X.—SIC. XX. and VOTIS. X. VOTIS XX., recall the old formulas by which the emperors tried to reconcile their subjects to slavery: "Cioè, il Senato, ed il popolo accla-"mavano SIC X. SIC XX. *sic decennalia sic vicenalia*, "vale a dire che come prospero era passato il primo "decennio, cosi passasse il secondo."* It has been supposed that the words "triumphis insignem" show that the arch had been used for former triumphs before the days of Constantine; but the writer just quoted refers the expression to the road, the Via Triumphalis, and not to the structure. Whether this opinion be well-founded or not, it is certain that the arch is a very miscellaneous piece of work, belonging to at least

* Roma nel anno xxxviii. parta 1, p. 449.

three periods, to say nothing of the pious patchwork of the Popes. The decorated sculpture—all but that part of it which might become a village tombstone *—has so little to do with the exploits of Constantine, and so pointedly pourtrays certain portions of the life of Trajan, that it is strange the Senate and Roman people should have risked a flattery so awkward as this monument records. The insertion of a page of Livy in the Augustan Histories will hardly furnish a specimen of more curious mosaic. Not only may works dedicated to Trajan, to Gordian, and to Constantine be here recognised, but it should be recollected that one of the Dacian kings, the heads of all of them, one of the eight columns, and a part of the entablature must be ascribed to the restoration of Clement XII. in 1733—they are modern. The story of Lorenzino de' Medici having despoiled the statues of their heads is generally discredited: at any rate he did not carry all of them to Florence, if it is true that one of them was found beneath the arch when restored by Clement XII., and transferred to the Vatican; but this also is denied. The Abate Fea doubts whether the bust in question really represents a Dacian king. A late traveller † has fallen into two or three errors in his notice of this monument. He speaks of the arch as if it was certain it was erected for Constantine. He tells of *the* Arch of

* Forsyth, Remarks on Italy, p. 230.

† Burton's Antiquities of Rome, p. 215.

Trajan in his Forum, as if it were certain that the disputed arch was in his Forum; and he relates that Clement VIII. displaced one of the giallo-antico columns to adorn the organ of the Lateran—another disputed fact. Less than a hundred years again half-buried the pedestals of the columns, and obliterated in part the useful labour of Clement XII. Pius VII. cleared away the soil in 1805, and surrounded the arch with a wall. Such was its condition when I first saw it, but Leo XII. wisely removed the wall when he uncovered the ancient level of this part of Rome;* and this arch, with all its incongruities, appears one of the most striking monuments of the Imperial City.

If any one wishes to see what this triumphal arch must have been when first dedicated to Constantine, excepting the heads and hands of the four captive kings, he should look at the 23rd plate of Bellini's great work, VETERES ARCUS AUGUSTORUM, &c., published at Rome in 1690. The restoration seems fairly conjectured.

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* The new paving of the Via St. Gregorio in 1835 raised the level a palm. Roma nel anno xxxviii. p. 457.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Mamertine and Tullian Prisons—The Cloaca Maxima—The Temple of Piety—The Spada Pompey.

THE MAMERTINE AND TULLIAN PRISONS.

THE claims of these dungeons to the highest antiquity are indisputable. A terrific interest is attached to them, for in the upper chamber were imprisoned, and in the underground cell were put to death, many of those whose names recall the most interesting passages of Roman story. Here Manlius was a captive; and those who descend into the lower compartment may be sure that they are in the same dark and loathsome pit where Jugurtha was starved to death; where Lentulus, Cethegus, and the other Catilinarian conspirators were strangled by order of Cicero;* where Sejanus was put to death; and where Simon, the leader of the Jews, was slain at the moment that the chariots of Vespasian and Titus ascended the Triumphal Way to the Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter.

* The description of the Tullianum in Sallust is good at this day. "Eum muniunt antiquæ parietes atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus vincta, sed inculta tenebris, odore fœda, atque terribilis ejus facies est."—Catil. cap. 25.

Let any one, just before he descends into these dungeons, read Plutarch's description of Jugurtha's death, and he will never forget it as long as he lives: "It is "said," relates the biographer, "that when he was led "before the car of the conqueror he lost his senses. "After the triumph he was thrown into prison, where, "whilst they were in haste to strip him, some tore his "robe off his back, and others, catching eagerly at his "earrings, pulled off the tips of his ears with them. "When he was thrown down naked into the dungeon" [I think I see him struggling through the dreadful hole at this moment], "all wild and confused, he said, "with a frantic smile, 'Heavens! how cold is this bath "of yours.' There struggling for six days with hunger, "and to the last hour labouring for the preservation "of life, he came to such an end as his crimes de-"served." *

The upper chamber, 14 feet high, 18 feet wide, and 15 in length, is assuredly one of the cells of the ancient Mamertine prisons, cut out of the rock, as the story goes, by Ancus Martius, and lined with large quadrilateral blocks of peperine or Alban stone, without cement. But the stairs are modern. The descent, by a dreary stair, into the condemned cell below, which was dug out of the rock by Servius Tullius, is also modern, for the criminals, in ancient days, were thrust down into

* Life of Marius.—Plut. Lives, translated by the Langhornes, vol. iii. p. 128.

the Robur Tullianum through a hole just big enough to admit their bodies, which is still open in the floor of the upper dungeon. The lower dungeon itself is 6½ feet high, 13 feet long, and 20 broad.* It is lined with rude blocks of peperine, and its shape has been aptly compared to that of a truncated cone. The brick pavement is a work of modern date (1667). The sewer, which is said to communicate with the catacombs and the spring of water, and the impression of St. Peter's face on the wall, must all be referred to the middle ages, which preserved and sanctified the scene of the imprisonment of the Apostles. Divine service is still occasionally performed in both these dungeons.

The inscription on the strip of travertine which is seen on the external façade of the Mamertine Chamber, visible in the Chapel of St. Joseph, gives a most respectable antiquity to the structure.

C. VIBIUS. C. F. RUFINUS. M. COCCEIUS NERVA. EX. S. C.

The consulate of Vibius Rufinus and Cocceius Nerva bears the date of 775 U. C.

All the learning on these prisons has been collected and admirably put together by the author of the 'Essay on the Forum.'† The rival Abate Fea has been much less successful when treating on the same subject.‡ He

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* The measurements are from Rome in 1838, but all of them are given differently in Professor Nibby's other work on the Forum.

† Foro Romano, pp. 128 to 134.

‡ Descrizione di Roma, vol. i. p. 263.

does not discriminate between the two prisons, nor recognise the fact that the Tullianum was only a condemned cell, and not the ordinary place of confinement.

But a German antiquary has stultified both the Italians by discovering that "TULLIANUM" is only an ancient word for a building attached to a spring of water or a reservoir; and that, whilst that chamber may have been a bath, the Mamertine Chamber was probably a cooling apartment for the use of the bathers.* When I was in Rome, in 1854, I mentioned this curious conjecture to a Monsignore attached to the Papal Court, who disposed of it as follows: "Ma non è "vero, perchè la sorgente fu creata miracolosamente "da San Pietro per battisare il suo custode."

The peculiar sanctity of these prisons had been recently illustrated by his Holiness himself, who, on the day of the SS. Crocefissi, addressed the clergy, the Senate, and the Roman people from the balcony above the Chapel of St. Joseph, not far from the base of the still remaining suggestum, by the Arch of Severus, from which the Emperors used to address their subjects.

I make no other comment on the Monsignore's

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* See the argument in the Bulletino dell' Instituto, No. iii. di Marzo, 1837, p. 29. Sul Carcere Mamertino e sul Tulliano, by G. P. Forchammer. Forchammer quotes Festus, but Festus only says, after giving the common meaning, "alii Silanos, alii rivos, alii vehementer sanguinis *arcuatim* fluentes quales sunt Tiburi in Aniene."—*De Verb. Sign.*, lib. xviii.

legend than that which I find in the Pope's own archæologist: "Questo non è luogo di trattare di tale ques-" tione appartenente unicamente a coloro che le " antichità ecclesiastiche illustrano, e solo mi basta " avere indicato ciò che la tradizione vuole." *

CLOACA MAXIMA.

The great drain near the Janus, and the huge triple archway, under which the water is discharged into the Tiber, have, until lately, been reckoned amongst the most authentic, as well as the most ancient of all the Roman remains. Even Niebuhr is so far from detracting from the antiquity of these stupendous works, that he seems to attribute them to a people greatly surpassing in power any of the tribes of Historic Latium, and possessed of every advantage except that of being handed down to posterity. This people, though described as savages by the writers of the Augustan age, left behind them traces of their architectural prowess quite gigantic, when compared with the structures of Imperial Rome; and to them, unfortunate and unknown as they are, ought we, perhaps, to ascribe all the Cyclopean works of Italy. In like manner the vaulted aqueducts of the lake Copais, in Bœotia, were *certainly* the work of a people prior to the Greeks. Even the Etruscans themselves are but moderns to those who look back

* Nibby, *Foro Romano*, p. 134.

into the night of ages to discover the shadowy forms of these aborigines, either in Greece or in Italy; and "under the tufo, on which Herculaneum was built, layers of cultivated soil remain to attest that these lands were ploughed and sown in a period anterior to the first Greek settlement in Campania." Every man is fated to be credulous about something. Niebuhr is positive that his PELASGI were "one of the greatest nations of ancient Europe, who, in their migrations, spread almost as widely as the ancient Celts." Yet, until these latter days, no people, it seems, have had so much reason to complain of misrepresentation and neglect. The Roman poets "shamefully confounded them with the Greeks," and the Greek writers, "owing to an uncritical and ungrammatical treatment of the Etruscan language," mistook them for Tuscans, or, rather, for Etruscans. This is the case with Thucydides, for whom, however, the German professor makes the excuse that he "did this without the remotest intention of displaying learning," and Sophocles also, he had the misfortune to make a similar blunder, but then, as Niebuhr kindly admits, "no one will expect historical precision from him." The result is that no one before Niebuhr seems to have done full justice to the Pelasgi, who for aught we know to the contrary, may have been the authors of many of these gigantic works now ascribed to the Etrusci,—at any rate the massive style of building is not peculiar to the Etruscans. It prevails in all the monuments of Latium,

and it is probable that this celebrated people derived it from the earlier inhabitants of Etruria.*

To these (the earlier inhabitants of Etruria), or to close imitators of them, may be attributed the cell of the Temple at Gabii, and the great walls of the Forum of Augustus (the Arco de' Pantani). To these also, with equal reason, may be assigned the drains of the Cloaca, or to those Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians, by no means to be confounded with the Etruscans, whom the early Greeks believed to be the founders of Rome.†

The more vulgar opinion, however, is that which is founded on the text of Dionysius and Livy: namely that the Cloacæ were originally the work of the two Tarquins, and even Niebuhr himself talks of the stupendous vaults as if they were constructed during the reign of some prince of that name.‡ But Tarquin the younger was not an Etruscan, and his historical adventures are now considered only as "a lay," so I confess myself totally at a loss to make out how much or how little this great sceptical critic believes of this lay, such as we find it in Livy.

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* Niebuhr conjectures that the figured vases and bas-reliefs were the work of their bondsmen; their marble statuary and architecture were probably Greek, as some towns, like "Tarquinj" had Greek artists for instructors. As to their language, Lanzi can find only two words, "avil. vil," which he interprets "vixit annos," but not a shadow of analogy shows "*vil*" to mean "years."

† The Etruscans and genuine Tyrrhenians are not the same people, "although," as Niebuhr tells us, "*Herodotus in one of his less fortunate hours made or caused the mistake.*"

‡ See p. 338 of Hare's Translation of the History.

Another writer, however, not a German, has, more recently than Niebuhr, endeavoured to show that certain mistakes have long prevailed as to the use and character of the great drain near the Velabrum. Mr. Duppa contends that the old Cloacæ were never used for any domestic purposes, such as carrying off foul water and cleansing the streets; and he also asserts that no one of these drains was larger than the rest. I think Mr. Duppa is mistaken. It appears from "Acilius," an author quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,* that the drains of the Tarquins were not, as Mr. Duppa translates it, "dilapidated" but "neglected," so that the water could not run through them.† The censors therefore [200 B.C.] contracted, for a thousand talents, to have them cleared and repaired.

Niebuhr believes the Cloacæ, which the censors repaired, to have been of a more modern date than that of the Velabrum, which, says he, never could want repair, and he thinks that these sewers were then discovered by Ficoroni in 1742; but I repeat that the historian only says that the sewers wanted *clearing*, which might have been the case however indestructibly they were formed.

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* Lib. iii. cap. 67.

† *ἀμεληθεισῶν ποτὲ τῶν τάφρων καὶ μηκέτι διαῤῥεομένων καὶ ἅμα προθυμίαν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδιὰς ἀρχῆς τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πάππου τελειῶσαι τὰς μὲν ἐξαγωγίμους τῶν ὑδάτων τάφρους ἃς ἐκεῖνος ὀρύττειν ἤρξατο μέχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταγαγεῖν*: also—*μεταλλεύοντες τε ὑπονόμας καὶ σήραγγας ἕτεροι καὶ πλάττοντες τὰς ἐν αὐταῖς καμάρας.* —Dion. Hal., Lib. iv. cap. 44.

The Cloacæ seem always to have been put to the same use as any sewer with running water, and though it is very true that Livy, when speaking of Tarquinius Priscus, says, that the purpose of his drains was to clear off the water from the hollows between the hills, yet, when writing of the second Tarquin, he expressly records that he completed a Cloaca Maxima which was to be a receptacle for all the cleansing sewers of the city. "Cloacamque maximam, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub terram agendam."

Dionysius describes the works of the last Tarquin as only a completion of those begun by the first Tarquin. How then can any one assert that there is no mention of one drain being bigger than another, nor of any drain constructed for carrying off the filth of the city, when Livy uses the very words—"cloaca maxima," and "receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis;" and when Dionysius, without using the same words, evidently alludes to the same works as the Latin historian.

But a question, it seems, may be raised whether the present great drain near the Velabrum, and the triple archway on the Tiber, be the Cloaca Maxima so described by Livy, or whether it be only that "*Meatus*," which, Pliny tells us, was constructed by Agrippa, and carried off the united waters of the seven streams into the Tiber. The writer above contends that neither Livy nor Dionysius describes the Tarquinian sewer as being arched. By the former there is certainly no mention of the shape or structure of the drains, but the

reader may interpret as he pleases the "*chambers*" of Dionysius.

Pliny* asserts that the cloacæ of Tarquin were of so solid a construction that earthquakes could not injure them. The form of the arch is most favourable to such stability, and if the drain now seen be the "meatus" of Agrippa, what has become of the Tarquinian sewer, existing in the days of Pliny, and described as indestructible? Perhaps Mr. Duppa might ask what has become of the *meatus* of Agrippa? but to this question the reply might be made that various drains have been discovered in Rome which correspond much better with the age of Agrippa than the Great Cloaca. The drain, before alluded to, discovered by Ficoroni in 1742, which Nardini thought belonged to the Cloaca Maxima,† but which appears to have been only one of the sewers leading to it, was most likely the work of Agrippa; and Niebuhr remarks that the stones composing it were of travertine, whereas the blocks of the Cloaca of the Velabrum are of peperine. Many years before (1742), when the Farnese Palace was building, the architect discovered a sewer of considerable size, cut out of the chalk rock, running from the Campo de' Fiore to the Tiber.‡ Even under the Tarpejan rock a vaulted drain was found about the same period, which communicated

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* Lib. 36, cap. 15.

† Lib. v. cap. viii. p. 210, tom. ii. and note.

‡ Vacca Mem. 33.

with the wells of the Capitol.* The first of these has since been laid open: I saw it in 1853. Nardini conjectures that excavations in almost any quarter of Rome would lay open some one of these subterranean channels, which he thinks evidently supplied the inspired author of the Revelations with one of his images of the old Imperial City, for "the great harlot sitting on many waters" was almost a literal allusion to Rome and her thousand drains.†

The indefatigable Fea, in 1828, obtained permission to dig a deep trench in the Via de' Cerchi, in search of certain underground streams deriving their source from a spring in a large reservoir on the Celian Mount, contiguous to the site of the old Temple of Mercury. The Abate did not succeed in his enterprise, and was derided accordingly by his rival Antonio Nibby; but his labour was far from lost. After cutting through six or seven feet of earth, mixed with fragments of marble and carved stone-work, of ancient construction, the labourers came to a wall of good brick-work, at the bottom of which was a gutter that still conducted a clear rapid stream from the foot of the Palatine in the direction of the Velabrum. They followed the course of this stream, and cutting a trench 200 feet in length, found the same kind of brick-work continue at intervals until they came to a circular mass, looking like the remains of the Meta

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* Vacca, Mem. 65.

† Nard. lib. vii. cap. v. on the Chiaviche.

Sudans, into a hole at the bottom of which the water rushed with much rapidity, and was lost. That this was a subterraneous sewer was apparent, for parallel with the top of the brick-wall, and about five or six feet above the stream, there was found an ancient road, composed in the usual manner of black basalt polygons.

The excavations near the Arch of Constantine and the Coliseum have laid bare the great drains in that quarter of the city, and shown the ducts through which the fountain of the Meta Sudans was supplied.

The water was running in the trench opened by Fea, as well as in that of Ficoroni, when I saw them; but whether any probable conjecture has been made as to the springs of so many streams I never learnt. Remains of reservoirs have been discovered in the Palatine, one of which, near the Church of St. Anastasia, was full of water; and the ancient city, before the construction of the aqueducts, must have trusted to her fountains, far more than to the Tiber, for her purest water.

None of these sewers just described have, however, the slightest resemblance to the great Cloaca of the Velabrum, although the drain of the Via de' Cerchi seems to have been connected with it; and I do not see how any one could mistake that very ancient work for a comparatively modern sewer.

Mr. Duppa's remarks on the arch of the Cloaca contain some objections to its supposed antiquity, not easily answered; and it is certainly singular that, with such a work before their eyes, the old Romans should not have

copied that form of structure for the same or similar purposes; yet the stone-work of the great emissaries of the Alban lake and of Nemi is not arched. This writer, however, is surely wrong when he says that the oldest arch in Rome is that of the tomb of Cecilia Metella. He cannot have seen the entrance into the tomb of the Scipios, where the arch is complete, composed of nine enormous uncemented blocks of peperine; and a question may be raised as to whether the truncated cone of the Tullian dungeon may not be called an arch with as much propriety as the chamber of Metella's tomb.*

I have ventured to enter into detail on this subject, inasmuch as I should be loth to encourage any criticism tending to detract from the interest attached to the most authentic of all the few vestiges of the old original Rome.

ST. NICHOLAS IN CARCERE.

A Temple of Piety was built in the *Forum Olitorium*, by Acilius Glabrio the Duumvir,† to commemorate the victory of his father over Antiochus at Thermopylæ, and a gold statue of Glabrio was placed in this temple. Festus mentions that it was consecrated on a spot where a woman once lived who had nourished her father in

* Mr. Duppa has also made a mistake about the origin of a curious term connected with this question of the arch. The inhabitants of Pagan Rome called an arched chamber "fornicated." The Christians described the deadly sin frequently committed in those chambers by the name given to that kind of structure.

† Liv. Hist. lib. x.

prison with her own milk, and was thus the occasion of his being pardoned.* Solinus has much the same account. It is a pity that so fine a tale should be liable to such contradictions. The father in Festus is a mother in Pliny,† and the plebeian of the latter is a noble matron in Valerius Maximus.‡ The naturalist lays the scene in the prisons of the Decemvirs, and adds that a Temple of Piety was erected on the site of these prisons, where the Theatre of Marcellus afterwards stood. The other writer (Valerius) makes no mention of the temple. It seems clear, however, that Festus and Pliny allude to the same story, and that the change of sex was, perhaps, occasioned by some confusion of the father of Glabrio with the mother of the pious matron.§

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* "Pietati ædem ab Acilio consecratam ajunt eo loco quo quædam mulier habitaverit, quæ patrem suum inclusum carcere mammis suis clam aluerit; ob hoc factum impunitas ei concessa sit."—Sex. Pomp. Fest. de Verb. sig. lib. xx. ex *Bib. Ant. August.*, p. 598, vol. 7, edit. Lucæ, 1772.

† "Humilis in plebe et ideo ignobilis puerpera, supplicii causa carcere inclusa matre, cum impetrasset aditum a janitore semper excussa, ne quid inferret cibi, deprehensa est uberibus suis alens eam. Quo miraculo salus matris donata filiæ pietati est; ambæque perpetuis alimentis; et locus ille eidem consecratus est deæ C. Quinctio. M. Attilio Coss. templo pietatis extructo in illius carceris sede, ubi nunc Marcelli theatrum est."—*Hist. Nat.*, lib. vii. cap. 36.

‡ "Sanguinis ingenui mulierem prætor apud tribunal suum capitali crimine damnatam, triumviro in carcere necandam tradidit," &c.—Valer. Max. lib. v. cap. iv. note 7.

§ Or perhaps with the other Grecian story told by Valerius Maximus (ibid. No. 1, *Externa*), of Perus and Cimon, of which there was a fine picture.

The antiquaries have chosen to point out the scene of this adventure at the church of "St. Nicholas *in carcere*," which should, therefore, stand on the site of the Decemviral prisons and the Temple of Piety. But here a great difficulty presents itself. For if the Theatre of Marcellus had displaced both the prisons and the temple, which the words of Pliny would lead us to suppose, it seems useless to look for either one or the other at this day. But at this church there are evident remains, not of one only, but of two, and perhaps three temples, whose columns are incrusted in the lateral walls on each side. The antiquaries have assigned these triple vestiges to the Temple of Piety, built by Glabrio, to the Temple of Piety raised to the Roman matron, and to a Temple of Juno Matuta. This is sufficiently bold, when, if we follow Pliny, the first did not exist in his time, when, according to Festus, there were not two but only one temple, and when Juno Matuta is only known to have stood somewhere in the Forum Olitorium.*

The name of the church is S. Nicholas, "*in carcere Tulliano*." But the Tullian prisons could never have been here nor anywhere, except on the Clivus Capitolinus hanging over the Forum, and it has been proved that the last epithet which deceived the Cardinal Baro-

* "Forum Olitorium, Columna Lactaria, Ædes Pietatis. Ædes Matutæ." Sext. Rufi. de regionib. Urb. "Regio circus Maximus. Ap. Græv., tom. iii. p. 98.

nius,* and occasioned one of the famous Roman controversies, is a fanciful addition of latter times. Notwithstanding the assertion of Pliny, a prison that went by the name of the *Decemviral* existed near the Theatre of Marcellus in the days of the regionaries, and a Temple of Piety is recorded by Rufus, in the Forum Olitorium; but as the temple is not mentioned by Victor,† and as the other writer puts it even in a different region from the prison, it seems stretching their authority to conclude S. Nicholas *in carcere* to be the site both of the one and the other, as well as of a second Temple of Piety, which never appears to have had any distinct existence. The name of the church is a very admissible evidence for the contiguity, at least, of the prison; and as the columns cannot have belonged to that structure, they may be assigned to any of the temples or basilicas noted as being in that quarter. Lucius Faunus‡ says there were in his time some vestiges of the prison; but the hole to which strangers are conducted by torchlight at the base of the columns can hardly have any reference to the ancient dungeon.§

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* In notis ad Martyrol. a. d. xiv. Martii. Apolog. contra Hugonium, de stationibus urbis Romæ. Nardini, lib. v. cap. xii. gives a long account of the controversy.

† Victor, "Carcer. C. or CL.X. Virorum." Regio IX. Circus Flaminius, ib. p. 106. Rufus says, "Carcer. C. Virorum." Regio Circus Flaminius, ibid. p. 97. The C should be CL.X.

‡ De Antiq. Urb. Rom. lib. iii. cap. v. ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 217.

§ Nardini, lib. vi. cap. ii. takes no notice of the columns, but believes in the site of the prison and the story of Festus.

Aringhi has given the most striking example of the perversion of antiquaries, when he supposes that some lines of Juvenal's third satire * were intended to extol the size and magnificence of the *single prison* which could contain *all the criminals* of early Rome: as if the satirist had meant to praise the architectural grandeur, not the virtue, of the primitive ages.†

Our own times have furnished us with a new piety, which the French audience of Mr. Bruce thought to be a phrase happily invented by our gallant countryman. The courageous attachment of wives to their husbands under calamity, superior to what is found in any other relation of life, has been acknowledged in all periods, from the Augustan proscription ‡ to the plague at Florence; § and the *conjugal piety* of Madame Lavalette is distinguished from many similar exploits, merely because it was seconded so nobly, and occurred in an age capable of appreciating such heroic devotion.

" felicia dicas
Sæcula, quæ quondam sub regibus atque tribunis
Viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam."

† Roma subterranea, lib. ii. cap. i. tom. i. p. 200.

‡ Id tamen notandum est, fuisse in proscriptos uxorum fidem summam, libertorum mediam, servorum aliquam, filiorum nullam. —C. Vell. Paterc. Hist. lib. ii. cap. lxvii.

§ Boccacio, in the introduction to the Decameron, puts the abandonment of husbands by their wives as the last horror of the plague.

THE SPADA POMPEY.

The projected division of the Spada Pompey has already been recorded by the historian of the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.' Gibbon found it in the memorials of Flaminius Vacca,* and it may be added to his mention of it that Pope Julius III. gave the contending owners five hundred crowns for the statue, and presented it to Cardinal Capo di Ferro, who had prevented the judgment of Solomon from being executed upon the image. In a more civilised age this statue was exposed to an actual operation; for the French, who acted the Brutus of Voltaire in the Coliseum, resolved that their Cæsar should fall at the base of that Pompey, which was supposed to have been sprinkled with the blood of the original dictator. The nine-foot hero was therefore removed to the arena of the amphitheatre, and to facilitate its transport suffered the temporary amputation of its right arm. The republican tragedians had to plead that the arm was a restoration: but their accusers do not believe that the integrity of the statue would have protected it.† The love of finding every coincidence has discovered the true Cæsarean ichor in a stain near the right knee;

* Memorie, no. lvii. p. 9, ap. Montfaucon, Diar. Ital.

† About this time Prince Borghese and some other Roman nobles publicly burnt their title-deeds, but they were accused of destroying only copies of them and keeping the originals.

but colder criticism has rejected not only the blood but the portrait, and assigned the globe of power rather to the first of the emperors than to the last of the republican masters of Rome. Winkelmann * is loth to allow an heroic statue of a Roman citizen, but the Grimani Agrippa, a contemporary almost, is heroic; and naked Roman figures were only very rare, not absolutely forbidden. The face accords much better with the "*hominem integrum et castum et gravem,*" † than with any of the busts of Augustus, and is too stern for him who was beautiful, says Suetonius, at all periods of his life. The pretended likeness to Alexander the Great cannot be discerned, but the traits resemble the medal of Pompey.‡ The objectionable globe may not have been an ill-applied flattery to him who found Asia Minor the boundary and left it the centre of the Roman empire. It seems that Winkelmann has made a mistake in thinking that no proof of the identity of this statue with that which received the bloody sacrifice can be derived from the spot where it was discovered.§ Flaminius Vacca says *sotto una cantina,* and this cantina is known to have been in the Vicolo de' Leutari, near the Cancellaria, a position corresponding exactly to that of the Janus before the basilica of Pompey's theatre, to

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* Storia delle arti, &c. lib. ix. cap. i. pag. 321, 322, tom. ii.

† Cicer. epist. ad Atticum, xi. 6.

‡ Published by Causeus in his Museum Romanum.

§ Storia delle arti, &c. ibid.

which Augustus transferred the statue after the *curia* was either burnt or taken down.* Part of the Pompeian shade,† the portico, existed in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and the *atrium* was still called *Satrum.* So says Blondus.‡ At all events, so imposing is the stern majesty of the statue, and so memorable is the story, that the play of the imagination leaves no room for the exercise of the judgment, and the fiction, if a fiction it is, operates on the spectator with an effect not less powerful than truth.

THE PANTHEON.

Whether the Pantheon be the calidarium of a bath or a temple, or a single or a double building, it is evidently that structure of which the ancients themselves spoke with rapture as one of the wonders of Rome: whose vault was like the heavens,§ and whose compass was that of a whole region.‖

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* Sueton. in vit. August. cap. 31, and in vit. C. J. Cæsar, cap. 88. Appian says it was burnt down. See a note of Pitiscus to Suetonius, pag. 224.

† "Tu modo Pompeia lenta spatiare sub umbra."
Ovid., Ar. aman.

‡ Roma instaurata, lib. ii. fo. 31. During the bombardment of Rome by the French in 1849 several shots struck the Spada Palace, and even the room in which the Pompey stands, but the statue was not injured (1854).

§ "ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ νομίζω ὅτι θολοειδὲς ὂν τῷ οὐρανῷ προσέοικεν." —Dion. *Hist. Rom.*, lib. liii. tom. i. p. 722.

‖ "Pantheum velut regionem teretem speciosa celsitudine fornicatam."—Amm. Marcell., lib. xvi. cap. x. p. 145.

Notwithstanding the repairs of Domitian, Hadrian, and Severus and Caracalla, it is probable that the later artists copied the old model, and that the portico may still be said to belong to the age of Augustus. Knowing that we see what was one of the most superb edifices of the ancient city, in the best period of its architecture, we are surprised, when looking down on the Pantheon from one of the summits of Rome, with the mean appearance of its flat leaden dome, compared with the many towering structures of the modern town; but the sight of the Portico from the opposite extremity of the market-place in front of the Rotonda, vindicates the majesty of the ancient capital.

The Abate Lazeri * has done his utmost to prove this structure a bath, or, at least, not a temple; or if it were a temple, he would show that a temple does not always mean a religious edifice, but sometimes a tomb, and sometimes the mast of a ship; and that Pantheon was a band of soldiers. However, as our Pantheon is neither one nor the other of these three, we need not embarrass ourselves with the name, which was a difficulty even in ancient times. Dion ascribed it to the expanding vault, but tells that others referred it to the resemblance to several deities observed in certain statues of Venus and Mars.† There is no evidence that it was dedicated to

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* Discorso di Pietro Lazeri della consecrazione del Panteone fatta da Bonifazio IV. Roma, 1749.

† Hist. Rom. in loc. citat.

all the gods, although such a persuasion prevailed with the early Christian writers:* nor is there any authority for the assertion of the pilgrim of the thirteenth century that Cybele and Neptune were the original possessors of this temple.

The words of Pliny should be reckoned decisive that the Pantheon was dedicated to Jove the Avenger,† and Lazeri has only one way of getting rid of this witness, which is by remarking that all places dedicated to gods were not necessarily temples. In his reply to objections he rather gives way, and retreats to the ground that the Christians did not think it a temple, or they would have destroyed it, as they did all other edifices devoted to the pagan religion!! This is the strength of his argument; and, up to a certain point, he makes out his case better against, or, as he thought, *for*, the Christians, than against the pretensions of Jupiter to his claims over the Pantheon. In both one and the other position the Abate has fallen into errors for which he has been sharply reproved by the editor of Winkelmann.‡

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* Paul the deacon—the martyrology. "Idem (Focas) Papa Bonifacio petente, jussit in veteri fano, quod Panteon vocabant, ablatis idolatriæ sordibus, Ecclesiam Beatæ semper Virginis Mariæ, et omnium Martyrum fieri, ut ubi omnium non Deorum, sed Dæmonum cultus erat, ibi deinceps fieret omnium memoria sanctorum." —De Gest. Lang. lib. iv. cap. xxxvii. p. 464, *Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. i.

† "Pantheon Jovi Ultori ab Agrippa factum, cum theatrum ante texerit Romæ."—*Nat. Hist.*, lib. xxxvi. cap. xv.

‡ Dissertazione sulle Rovine, &c. p. 284, note (c).

The positive merit of "saving and converting the majestic structure of the Pantheon"* would have been greater, if the consecration had taken place earlier than two hundred years after the triumph of Christianity. From the shutting of the temples in the reign of Honorius to the year 609, it must have been abandoned to the ravages of neglect. Vain attempts have been made to prove that it was dedicated before the above date;† but all the writers are of accord in this point; there is only some doubt whether *all the Saints* should not be esteemed the first possessors of the Christian Church, instead of *all the Martyrs*. It seems, that as early as the fourth century the Saints were worshipped with the Martyrs;‡ and, indeed, as martyrdom grew more rare every day, and was not to be had, except now and then from an Arian tyrant, it is probable that simple saintship was regarded as a just title to an apotheosis. Gregory IV. changed the martyrs, however, into saints, at the re-consecration in 830, though the ancient name was still preserved — *Beata Maria ad Martyres*.§

The positive merit of saving the Pantheon would have been more complete if the Pontiffs had not afterwards converted it to a fortress, which in the time of

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* Decline and Fall, cap. lxxi. tom. xii. p. 408.

† By father Martene. Discorso, &c. p. 4.

‡ Mabillon, Cardinal Bona, and Fontanini, are of this opinion. Discorso, p. 4.

§ Anastas. in vit. Greg. IV. p. 226, Script. Rer. Ital. tom. iii.

Gregory VII. was called *S. Maria in turribus*, and was defended by the anti-pope Clement III., when the Countess Matilda came to Rome in 1087.* It appears, from the form of an oath taken by the Senators of Rome in the time of Celestine III., about the year 1191, that it could receive a papal garrison, and was, together with the island of the Tiber and the Castle of Saint Angelo, fortified against the enemies of the Church.†

The Pontiffs would have deserved more praise if they had not added and taken away ornaments at will; if Urban VIII.‡ had not imitated the wretched Constans, and if he had not added his hideous belfries; if Alexander VII. had cleared away all, instead of half, of the buildings which blocked up the Rotonda; if Gregory XIII. and Clement XI. had opened a wider space in front; and, lastly, if Benedict XIV. had not

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* Baron. annal. ecclesias. ad an. 1087. The editor of 'Eustace's Classical Tour' denies this—on what authority I know not.

† Mabillon. Mus. Ital. tom. ii. Ordo Romanus, num. 86, p. 215. Juramentum senatorum urbis—"nominatim autem sanctum Petrum, urbem Romanam, civitatem Leoninam, transtyberim, insulam, castellum Crescentii, sanctam Mariam Rotundam." All these the senator swore to assist the Pope to retain.

‡ Urban made a boast of his robbery, and affixed this inscription under the portico: "Urbanus VIII. Pont. Max. Vetustas ahenei lacunaris reliquias in Vaticanas columnas et bellica tormenta, conflavit ut decora inutilia et ipsi prope famæ ignota fierent in Vaticano templo apostolici sepulchri ornamenta in Hadriana arce instrumenta publicæ securitatis, anno Domini MDCXXXII. Pontific. IX." Yet Urban is the hero of the poet Casimir. Augustus himself scarcely received from his eulogists more elegant flattery than Urban from his Polish admirer.

white-washed the interior of the vault. The leaden roof, and the three supplied pillars, and other frequent repairs, are to be registered amongst the merits of the Popes; but, judging from the general appearance, we shall nowhere find a more striking example of the neglect of the ancient structures of Rome, than at the Pantheon. Of this the common antiquarian artists are so sensible, that they do not represent the edifice as it is, but as it should be, in an open space, where all its beauties may be beheld and approached.

The piety, if not the taste, of the pontiffs should be interested in the decent preservation of this monument; and if the names of heroes and emperors, if Jove and his gods are of no avail, respect for the founder, Boniface, and twenty-eight cartloads of relics,* the worship

* The twenty-eight cartloads of relics are founded on the authority of an old MS. cited by Baronius in his notes to the Martyrology. Anastasius does not particularise the exact quantity of relics, but only says that Boniface brought *many good things* into the church. "Eodem tempore petiit a Phocata Principe templum quod appellatur Pantheon. In quo fecit ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ semper Virginis et omnium martyrum. In qua ecclesia Princeps multa bona intulit." —*De Vitis Roman. Pontif. Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. iii. p. 135. The Abate Lazeri defends Boniface for his transport of relics, saying, "and if it is true that which the author of the wonders of Rome tells of the Pantheon, that before it was dedicated, the demons used to attack with blows those who came near it, we may easily see what motive induced Boniface to transfer thither that great multitude of martyrs in solemn pomp."—*Discorso*, p. 26. The Abate also is scandalised with Baronius for owning, "in dedicatione templorum multa fuisse gentilibus cum pietatis cultoribus similia ex Suetonio disces:" and he talks of the "*libricciuolo*" of "*un tal Coniers Middleton*," p. 33, meaning his "Letter from Rome."

of the Virgin and all the saints, should rescue the temple from the contagion of common sewers and market-places. The veneration for a miraculous image, which has lately crowded the Rotonda, has not bettered the condition of the pavement: nor does it help the general effect of the interior prospect to be aware that we see exactly the same idolatry which was practised in the same spot sixteen centuries ago. A philosopher may smile, but a less indifferent spectator is shocked at the inexplicable credulity which stares in the stedfast faces of a hundred worshippers, seated on chairs, for hours, before the image, in the wish, the hope, the certainty of some indication of Omnipotence from the dirty cobweb-covered block which has been preferred into divinity.

The Pantheon has become the shrine not only of the martyred, but of the illustrious in every art and science: but the busts of Raphael, Hannibal Caracci, Pierin del Vaga, Zucchero, and others, to which age has lent her venerable hue, are ill assorted with the many modern contemporary heads of ancient worthies which now glare in all the niches of the Rotonda. The little white Hermæan busts, ranged on ledges, side by side, give to this temple of immortality the air of a sculptor's study; and there is something embarrassing in reading so many names under almost every image: that of the portrait of Canova the dedicator, and of the artist. A corner awaits Bodoni, now under the chisel of the modern Cleomenes, who will himself complete the crowded series. The many friends of the most amiable man in existence, and

the admiration of all Europe, would long defer that mournful recompense.*

The inscription on the Pantheon, whose simplicity, if not whose date, belongs to the rise of the monarchy,

M. AGRIPPA . L. F. COS. TERTIVM . FECIT.†

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* Written in 1817. These busts were in 1821, as before mentioned, very properly removed to the Protomoteca in the Capitol; but some of the sepulchral inscriptions remain, and the tombs of Raphael and Caracci are still amongst the chief modern attractions of the Pantheon. A marble in the church records the discovery of the bones and ashes of Raffaele after 310 years of ignorance of their real place of interment. The discovery took place on the 14th of September, 1833; and Prince D. Peter Odescalchi published an account of it. The remains were exposed for eight days to the gaze of the people, and the Marquis Louis Biondi wrote an ode for the occasion. The head was found with the rest of the bones, so that the skull exhibited so long for that of Raphael at the S. Luca was an imposture. Raphael's favourite Madonna, the work of Lorenzo Lotti, is still the presiding deity of the Pantheon, and she works miracles from above an altar restored and embellished in pursuance of a bequest of his last will. Professor Nibby says that Raphael was found where he had ordered that he should be buried; if so, how could there have been that ignorance and that mistake made to which the inscription alludes?

N.B.—A wretched bit of bas-relief by Thorwaldsen draws attention to the cippus which is the depositary of Consalvi's heart. The portrait of the cardinal is a good likeness, and is the only merit of this insignificant group.—1854.

† The other inscription, given, as before remarked, so often incorrectly, is thus written:—

"Imp. Cæs. L. Septimius . Severus . Pius . Pertinax . Arabicus . Adiabenicus . Parthicus . Maximus . Pontif. Max. Trib. Potest. X. Imp. XI. Cos. III. P. P. Procos. et —— Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelius . Antoninus . Pius . Felix . Aug. Trib. Potest. V. Cos. Procos. Pantheum . Vetustate . corruptum . cum . omni . cultu . restituerunt."

It is in two lines, and the second begins with Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelius.

has all the effect produced by one of the greatest names, and by the most powerful title of the ancient world. We may, perhaps, be inclined to think that the words were known anciently not to have been contemporary with the original building: for Aulus Gellius mentions, that a friend of his at Rome wrote to him, asking why he used the phrase "*me jam tertium scripsisse.*" It should seem that the question would not have been asked if the inscription had any authority, or, at least, that Gellius would have cited it as a triumphant quotation, to show that the Augustan scholars had declared in favour of the adverb of Varro,* although Cicero had been unwilling to decide.†

THE COLISEUM.

"Quandiu stabit Colysæus, stabit Roma; quando cadet Colysæus, cadet et Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus." These words are quoted by Gibbon‡

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* Noct. Attic. Comment., lib. x. cap. i. p. 130, edit. Ald.

† Pius IX. has removed some of the modern houses that were built against the portico and cella of the Pantheon on the east of the building—an exploit which is recorded in a huge inscription.—1854.

‡ Cap. lxxi. tom. xii. oct. p. 419. One of the most picturesque descriptions of the effect of the Coliseum is given by Ammian, who calls it a solid mass of stonework, to whose summit the human eye can scarcely reach. "Amphitheatri molem solidatam lapidis Tiburtini compage, ad cujus summitatem ægre visio humana conscendit," lib. xvi. cap. x. p. 145; a structure where there was sitting room for 87,000 spectators, besides place for more than 22,000 others, was the first amphitheatre of the kind ever raised, for that of Statilius

as a proof that the Coliseum was entire when seen by the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century. At the same time, as they extended their admiration to Rome, which was then partially destroyed, it is not impossible that the amphitheatre may have been in some degree dilapidated even in that early period.

The first restoration took place in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The fire which, about the year 219, in the reign of Macrinus, destroyed all the upper wooden works, in which, amongst other conveniences, there were brothels, occasioned the repairs of Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus and Gordian; and the frequency of such restorations may be concluded from the different forms and materials lately discovered in the excavations of the substructures of the area. Mention is made of a fire under Decius.* It was certainly in all its glory in the reign of Probus, and the seven hundred wild beasts, and the six hundred gladiators which he exhibited at once, could not occupy a twelfth part of the arena. The number of wild beasts which might stand together in this arena has been calculated to be ten thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine,† so that it may be no exagge-

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Taurus is not to be reckoned. Pompey's theatre, "*a hollowed mountain*," was also the first theatre made of stone. The Romans in both these works rose at once to perfection—the effect was instantly discovered to be insurpassable.

* In the Eusebian Chronicle. See Maffei. Verona Illustrata. part iv. pp. 36, 37, edit. 1731.

† By T. B. Nolli. See Delle Memorie Sacre e Profane dell' Anfi-

ration to say that Titus showed the Roman people five thousand in one day,* or that Probus, *unica missione*, exhibited four thousand ostriches, boars, deer, ibexes, wild sheep, and other graminivorous animals, amidst a forest which had been transplanted into the amphitheatre.† Perhaps it is not to be understood that they were slain at once.‡

The Coliseum was struck by lightning in the year A.D. 320, in the reign of Constantine, but repaired; for the laws for abolishing gladiatorial shows were not observed until the reign of Honorius;§ and even after

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teatro Flavio dal Canonico Giovanni Marangoni, Rom. 1746, pp. 33, 34.

* "Atque uno die quinque millia omne genus ferarum."—Sueton. *in Vit. Tit.*

† Vopisc. in Vit. Prob., p. 233, Hist. Aug. edit. 1519.

‡ Marangoni, ibid. p. 41.

§ In the reign of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. Rufus Cecina Felix Lampadius, Prefect of Rome, restored the steps, the arena, and the podium—a circumstance unknown until the discovery of an inscription now preserved in the area of the building; but whether these repairs were rendered necessary by the violence of Alaric in 409, we have no means of being certainly informed. Two other recently (1828) found inscriptions record that an *abominable* earthquake threw down the podium, and made requisite the repairs made by Decius Marius Venantius Basilius, consul in the year 496 of the vulgar era.

The Theodosian inscription, with the obliterated letters restored, runs as follows:—

SALvis *d d* NN THEODOSIO ET PLACIDO *Valentiniano . Augg .* RUFUS . CÆCINA . FELIX . LAMPADIUS . UC . *et inl præf. urb* HARENAM AMPHITHEATRI A NOVO . UNA CUM PO*dio et portic Posti*CIS SED . ET REPARATIS . SPECTACULI . GRADIBUS *restituit.*

The

that period, men fought with wild beasts, which seems to have been the original purpose of the amphitheatre, rather than the combats of gladiators.* The fighting and hunting continued at least until the end of Theodoric's reign, in 526, and the seats of the principal senators were jealously preserved.† Maffei had heard of an inscription mentioning a restoration by that monarch, but was not able to find such a record.‡

It is just possible that some of the holes which now disfigure the whole surface may have been made by the extraction of the metals used for clamps, which we have remarked to have been a practice of the Romans

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The other inscription, referring to the repairs of Basilius, is in these words:—

DECIUS . MARIUS . VENANTIUS.
BASILIUS . V. C. FT INL . PRAEF.
URB. PATRICIUS. CONSUL.
ORDINARIUS . ARENAM . ET
PODIUM . QUAE . ABOMI
NANDI TERRAE . MO
TUS . RUIN . PROS
TRAVIT . SUMPTU PRO
PRIO RESTITUIT.

* Verona Illustrata, part iv. pp. 2, 3. Maffei notices that Cassiodorus calls it *theatrum venatorium.* True; but gladiators had been abolished some time before, therefore the authority is not conclusive.

† Cassiod. Variar., epist. xlii. lib. v., the bishop lamented the enormity of the sport; "actu detestabilis, certamen infelix," spectaculum tantum fabricis.—Ibid., epist. xlii. lib. iv.

‡ Verona Illust., ib. p. 37.

even before the Gothic invasion; but Montfaucon* is strangely mistaken in calling the Barbarians the sole and sufficing cause of all these holes: no less is another writer deceived in saying they were all made by artisans. Joseph Maria Suarez, who has written expressly on this subject, actually proves nothing with all his seven causes, and has made a gross mistake in supposing *Volusian* had occupied a part of the amphitheatre as a strong hold in the reign of Theodoric.† It was a box at the shows he had seized, not a fortress.‡ The true account seems to be given by the editor of Winkelmann, who believes that the greater number of the holes were made for the extraction of the metals, and only a few, comparatively, for the insertion of the beams and staples necessary for forming chambers and divisions, when the ruin was made a place of defence, in the first instance, and afterwards, perhaps, a magazine of manufactures.§ The first plunder may have been begun in war, but was more the labour of peace, and was actually continued in the time of Theodoric.‖ The thieves worked in the night. The lead is still seen in some of the

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* Montf. Diar. Ital. "Unam germanamque causam foraminum," p. 233. See note 50, Decline and Fall, tom. xii. p. 419.

† Jos. M. Suaresii de foraminib. lapid. *diatriba*, addressed to a Barberini in 1651, ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 318.

‡ "Hac crudeli surreptione captata turrem circi, atque locum amphitheatri illustris recordationis patris eorum detestabili ambitu a vestris suggerunt fascibus expeditum."—*Variar.* lib. iv. epist. xlii.

§ Dissertazione sulle Rovine, pp. 277, 278.

‖ Var. Epist. lib. ii. epist. vii.; lib. iii. epist. xxxi.

holes. The larger cavities are to be attributed to the other cause.

Totila is said to have exhibited the equestrian games of the Circus; but nothing is told of his reviving those of the amphitheatre. Justinian abolished the latter in every part of his dominion; and from that period, so Maffei thinks, the attacks of time and man began to be injurious.* The great mass of the external structure might, however, have been entire when it appeared to the pilgrims as durable as the world itself; but abandoned to neglect and exposed to the floods and earthquakes of the seventh century, much of the lower and more fragile part of the work must have been defaced, and it seems probable that some of the mass itself had fallen when it was occupied by the Frangipane family in the twelfth century or earlier.† Its decay would facilitate the conversion by the supply of fallen materials.

The author of the memoir on the amphitheatre ‡ ascribes the ruin of the arcades towards the Cælian mount to Robert Guiscard; who, if he destroyed the structures between that mount and the Capitol,§ must

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* Verona Illust. ibid. p. 60. "Allora fu, che il grand' anfiteatro di Tito reso inutile comminciò a soffrir gl' insulti e del tempo e degli uomini."

† Onufrius Panvinius, in his MS. Memoirs *de gente Fregepanica*, quoted by Marangoni, ibid. 49, thinks this occupation took place after the year 1000.

‡ Ibid. p. 50.

§ "Et majorem urbis partem Cœlium inter et Capitolium sitam

necessarily have fallen upon the Coliseum. What is certain is, that for more than two centuries and a half the buildings dedicated to the amusement contributed to the distresses of Rome. Donatus, and after him Gibbon, have made a mistake in supposing that a manufactory of silk-weavers was established there in the twelfth century. The Bandonarii or Banderarii of the Coliseum, in 1192, noticed by a contemporary writer,* were the officers who carried the standards of their *school*, and preceded the pope in his coronation. No such employment was exercised in the Coliseum, which was now become a regular fortress. Innocent II. took refuge there in 1130; and the Frangipani were shortly after expelled, but made themselves masters of it a second time. Alexander III. retreated thither from the Ghibeline faction in 1165.

In 1244 Henry and John Frangipane were obliged to cede the half of their intrenchment to the Annibaldi;

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evertit." These words of Leo Ostiensis (Ap. Baron. ad an. 1084) are quoted by Marangoni; but the Abate Fea (*Dissert.* p. 395), finding no certain memorial, hesitates.

* See Ordo Romanus xii. auct. Cencio Camerario. ap. Mabill. Museum Italic. tom. ii. p. 195, num. 52. "Bandonarii Colosæi et Cacabarii, quando dominus Papa coronatur, in eundo et redeundo ipsum cum vexillis præcedunt, quasi etenim una schola est, et eadem die debent comedere cum eodem domino Papa." They were certain trained bands of the different quarters, as we see by this expression in Villani, cap. xiv. lib. vii. Itiner. Greg. X. "Currebant Banderarii Romani velut dementes tubis clangentibus." See also Ducange verb. *Banderarii*. Marangoni, p. 49. The mistake of Donatus is at lib. iii. cap. vi., that of Gibbon at cap. lxxi. p. 419, oct. vol. xii.

but by the authority of Innocent IV. recovered entire possession in the course of the same year.* The Annibaldi, however, succeeded in driving out their rivals, and held the Coliseum up to the year 1312, when they were compelled to yield it to the emperor Henry VII. In the year 1332 it was the property of the Senate and Roman people. This is the date of the bull-feast of which Ludovico Monaldesco has left an account† transcribed into the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. The contrivance of such an exhibition has given rise to a persuasion that the amphitheatre was then entire; but the adaptation of a range of benches round the area would not be difficult even now; and indeed it will be observed, it was resolved to renew the bull-fights even at the end of the seventeenth century.

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* Nibby (*Foro Roman.* p. 231) thinks that this "half" was all that there remained entire of the Coliseum; but this is only a conjecture, and not a very probable one; for if the other half had been in ruins, the terms of the donation would have, probably, spoken of the whole available building.

† Annali di Ludovico Monaldesco. ap. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. xii. pp. 529, 542. A modester memorialist was never met with. This is all he says of himself:—"I, Lewis of Bonconte Monaldesco, was born in Orvietto, and was brought up in the city of Rome where I lived. I was born in the year 1327, in the month of June, at the coming of the emperor Lewis; and now I will relate all the story of my times, for I lived in the world a hundred and fifteen years without any sickness except at my birth and death, and I died of old age; having been bed-ridden a twelvemonth. Sometimes I went to Orvietto to see my relations." The narration of his own death is found in all the MSS., and judiciously inserted by Muratori, who bears testimony to the authenticity of this posthumous writer.

It is generally agreed that the porticoes on the south side were the first to give way; and those who assign the earliest date to the destruction of the exterior range of arcades in this quarter and towards the Arch of Constantine, do not descend lower than the famous earthquake in 1349. It is certain that in the year 1381 a *third part* of the building and a jurisdiction over the whole was granted by the Senate and Roman people to the religious society of Sancta Sanctorum, who probably formed their hospital in the higher arches blocked up by the Frangipani, of whose walls traces are yet apparent towards the Lateran. Their privileges continued until the year 1510, and their property was recognized in the beginning of the seventeenth century.* The arms of the S. P. Q. R. and of the above company, namely, our Saviour on an altar between two candlesticks, are still seen on the outside of the arcades towards the church of St. Gregory and the Arch of Constantine, which must therefore have been, as they are now, the external range; but which, before the outer circles had fallen down, were, in fact, the internal arches of the first corridor. This proof seems decisive, that as early at least as the middle of the fourteenth century, the exterior circumference had ceased to be "entire and inviolate," so that Gibbon, by following or rather by divining the mysterious Montfaucon, has made a mistake of two

* Marangoni, ibid., p. 55, et seq. They seem to have made a claim so late as 1714, which was not attended to. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

hundred years in assigning that state of preservation even as low down as the middle of the sixteenth century.*

A letter in the Vatican library from the bishop of Orvietto, legate to pope Urban V. about the year 1362, is said to inform that pontiff that the stones of the Coliseum had been offered for sale, but had found no other purchaser than the Frangipane family, who wished to buy them for the construction of a palace. The editor of Winkelmann was, however,† unable to find this letter; and it is somewhat singular that no search has as yet been able to discover the document which Barthelemy saw in the archives of the Vatican, and which contained a common privilege granted to the factions of Rome of "digging out" stones from the Coliseum.‡ The author

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* "The inside was damaged; but in the middle of the sixteenth century, an era of taste and learning, the exterior circumference of 1612 feet was still entire and inviolate, a triple elevation of fourscore arches, which rose to the height of 108 feet. Of the present ruin, the nephews of Paul III. are the guilty agents."—*Decline and Fall*, cap. lxxi. p. 424. After measuring the priscus amphithea ri gyrus, Montfaucon (p. 142) only adds that it was entire under Paul III., "tacendo clamat." "Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, tom. xiv. p. 371, more freely reports the guilt of the Farnese pope, and the indignation of the Roman people. Look into Muratori, you find those words: 'Per fabbricare il Palazzo Farnese gran guasto diede all' anfiteatro di Tito. Fece gridare il clero e i Popoli suoi per le gravezze loro accresciute.'—*Annali ad an.* 1549, tom. x. p. 335. The indignation of the people was for the taxes not the destruction of the Coliseum."

† Dissertazione, &c., p. 399.

‡ "Et præterea, si omnes concordarent de faciendo Tiburtino quod esset commune id. quod foderetur."—*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii. p. 585, also published separately.

of Anacharsis, however, can hardly be suspected of an imposture; and the exaggeration of Poggio, who says that in his time the greater part of the amphitheatre had been reduced to lime,* bespeaks some terrible devastation not at all reconcileable with that integrity which Gibbon affirms to have been preserved up to the time of Paul III. The historian quotes both the document of Barthelemy and the lamentation of the Florentine; and there is no way of accounting for his error except by supposing that he applied all dilapidation previous to that period solely to the interior elevation, which, however, would be also a mistake. Blondus has besides left a memorial of the ruin a hundred years before the pontificate of Paul III.† In fact we have seen that Paul II. had before employed many of the blocks of travertine for his palace of Saint Mark, and Cardinal Riario for that of the Chancellery.‡ Theodoric thought a capital city might be built with the

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* "Ob stultitiam Romanorum majori ex parte ad calcem redactum."—De Variet. Fortun. in loco cit. · Poor Marangoni interprets this folly to be their rebellion against, not the amphitheatre, but the pope. "Non oscuramente attribuendo queste rovine alla stoltezza de' Romani *ribellati contro il Pontefice*."—*Ibid.*, p. 47.

† Both he and Lucius Faunus and Martinelli attributed the ruin to the Goths, mistaking an order of Theodoric to repair the walls of Catania with the stones of an amphitheatre, as if it applied to the Coliseum.—Marangoni, ibid., p. 44.

‡ "Paulus II. ædes adhuc Cardinalis ad S. Marci amplissimas extruere ceperat: quas deinde cum Pontifex ædificaret ex amphitheatri ruinis uti postea Raphael Riarius et Alexander Farnesius fecisse dicuntur."—Donatus, lib. iv. cap. ix. This is but a delicate phrase if Paul III. had really thrown down the outside ranges.

wealth expended on the Coliseum,* and indeed some of the noblest palaces of modern Rome have been constructed out of a small portion of the ruins. There appears to have been a sale of some of the stones in 1531, and in the next century others were employed in one of the buildings on the Capitol.†

But all lesser plunder has been obliterated by the more splendid rapine of the Farnese princes. The Baths of Constantine, the Forum of Trajan, the Arch of Titus, the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, the Theatre of Marcellus, added their marbles to the spoils of the Coliseum; and the accounts of the Apostolic chamber record a sum of 7,317,888 crowns expended between the years 1541 and 1549 upon the gigantic palace of Campo di Fiore alone.‡ Whether the progress of decay was anticipated and aided, or whether such blocks only as had already fallen were applied to the purposes of construction, is still a disputed point. Martinelli § has dared to believe in the more unpardonable outrage, whilst Marangoni has stepped forward to defend the Popes, but

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* Cassiod. epist. xlii. lib. iv.

† In 1604: these facts are stated from the documents in Marangoni, p. 56.

‡ Dissertazione, &c., p. 399, note c. The mention of the Theatre of Marcellus has beenad ded from Venuti, Roma Moderna, in his account of the Farnese palace.

§ Roma Ricercata nel suo sito, giorn. 6, Marangoni, ibid. p. 47. Martinelli says Paul II. *cut down the arches towards St. John and St. Paul;* but Platina, who had been imprisoned by that pontiff, and would not have been silent (*perhaps*), notices no such attack in his life of Paul.

candidly owns that Paul III. and Riario may have thrown down many of the inner arches.

Amongst the projects of Sixtus Quintus was that of establishing a woollen manufactory in the Coliseum, which had before given shelter to the artisans of periodical fairs, and according to what we can collect of the plan from Fontana,* it appears that if it had been carried into execution the arcades of the Coliseum would have been entirely closed up, and the whole mass have been converted to a circuit of dirty dens like the Theatre of Marcellus. Mabillon, who says that if Sixtus had lived a year longer we should have had the Coliseum entirely restored,† talks as if he had never been at Rome or opened a single book on the subject.

In 1594 some of the upper arches were occupied by mechanics,‡ who paid a pound of wax quit-rent to the arch confraternity of the Roman Gonfalonier.

The papal government must be charged with neglect, if not with spoliation. Of the wall said to be built round the Coliseum by Eugenius IV. there is no authentic record. Gibbon quoted it from Montfaucon, who took

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* Some of the earth was cleared away and excavations made in the area, and Sixtus had already advanced 15,000 crowns to merchants to "establish the manufactory."—Fontana—di alcune Fabbriche fatte in Roma da PP. Sisto V. Marangoni, ibid., p. 60, 61.

† "Vixisset Sixtus V. et amphitheatrum, stupendum illud opus, integratum nunc haberemus."—*Iter. Ital.*, num. xxix., *Mus. Ital.*, tom. i. p. 74.

‡ Marangoni, ibid., p. 71, 72.

it from Flaminius Vacca, who lived more than a hundred years after Eugenius, and reported it on hearsay.* This majestic relic, which had been protected as a barrack, a hospital, and a bazar, and which more enlightened ages considered only as a convenient quarry, seems never to have been estimated in its true character, nor preserved as the noblest monument of Imperial Rome, until a very late period. Piety had interfered but feebly, notwithstanding the claims of the amphitheatre to veneration. Fontana, in his work,† had intended to give a list of the martyrs who suffered there, but employed a person to furnish his catalogue who is owned to have been of no very critical capacity, and to have inserted names to which this arena could not pretend. The more judicious Marangoni, who will follow no blind guides, nor any less respectable authority than the Roman martyrology, or the sincere acts of Ruinart, or Surio, or Peter de Natalibus, thinks it a supportable conjecture that Gaudentius was the architect who built it, and was put to death for his Christianity by Vespasian. The excellent Vicentine Canon forgot that he had just mentioned that the completion of the work took place after the death of that

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* *Intesi dire*, &c. Vacca heard it from certain Olivetan monks of Santa Maria Nova; but Marangoni looked over their archives, and found no such record, nor have the Olivetans pretended to the property (ibid., p. 58). Yet Nibby (For. Rom., p. 234) quotes it as if not questionable (1828).

† L' Anfiteatro Flavio descritto, e delineato, dal Cav. Carlo Fontana, Hag. 1725. Marangoni, ib., p. 25.

emperor. He will, however, positively name no more than eighteen martyrs of the male sex, beginning with Saint Ignatius and ending with Telemachus, together with six females, four of whom are hardly to be reckoned amongst the triumphs of the arena; as the lions refused to injure them,* and they were reserved for less discriminating executioners. The list is considerably swelled with two hundred and sixty "anonymous soldiers," who, after digging an arena without the Salarian gate, were rewarded with death, which the Christian fasti call martyrdom, on the first of March, in the reign of Claudius II.†

Marangoni avers that no memorial remains of the exact contrivance by which the sufferers were exposed to the wild beasts, although there are so many left of the conversion of the lions; but he might have seen the small bronze reliefs at the Vatican found in the Catacombs, where the lions are seen chained to a pilaster,

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* S. Martina, S. Tatiana, S. Prisca, were all exposed to lions, who licked their feet: also "S. Daria verg. sposa di S. Crisanto, come crede il Martinelli, fu esposta dal Tiranno all' ignominia, sotto le volte dell' anfiteatro, ove da un lione fu difesa la di lei castità" (Marangoni, p. 25). Then comes much learning to prove there were brothels in the amphitheatre, which appears certain; but that there were lions in waiting may want confirmation. The lions being found good Christians, at least where females were concerned, virgins were condemned to worse than death from the violence of men; and it became a proverb, "Christiani ad leones, virgines ad lenones."—See Aringhi *Roma Subterranea*, lib. ii. cap. i. tom. i. p. 197, num. 23, edit. 1651.

† "Dugento, e LX. MM. anonimi soldati, sotto lo stesso Claudio II.," &c. Ib. 23.

and the martyr unarmed and half naked at their feet. That some innocent Christians suffered amongst real criminals is extremely probable. We learn from Martial that the amphitheatre was a place of execution, and that under Domitian the spectators were glutted with burnings and crucifixions. Those who had the noble courage to die for their faith, would be punished and confounded, except by their own sect, with other rebellious subjects of the empire. It appears that the condemned were brought in at the close of the day, and that the gladiatorial shows were terminated with these horrors.

The Canon, in order to show how much the Coliseum was always esteemed by the pious, relates that Saint Philip Neri was tempted by the devil there in the shape of a naked woman,* and that a friend of Saint Ignatius Loyola had a hundred gold crowns given to him by a messenger from the martyrs who had suffered there, and

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* The story is told from Father Bacci's Life of Saint Philip Neri, lib. i. cap. v. n. viii.; but Marangoni, in relating it, does not observe that the devil must have been as fond of the Coliseum as the saint. Neri was a very considerable person in his day, and raised several people from the dead, particularly a youth of the Massimi family, on the 17th of the kalends of April, in 1583. This family, one of the noblest, and descended (so it is thought) from the Fabii, have attested the fact by building a chapel in their own palace, and by performing an annual service there, when they distribute pictures of the miracle, drawn in 1761 by order of Camillus Marquis Massimi, with a subjoined account of it just as it happened, in the presence of the father and many witnesses. Very nearly the same time that Neri was raising the dead in Rome, Lord Bacon was spreading his philosophy in London.

who were the peculiar objects of Loyola's devotions.* Moreover, Pius V. used to say, that he who wanted relics should take some earth from the arena, which was cemented with so much holy blood;† and Cardinal Uderic Carpegna always stopped his coach opposite to the Coliseum, and repeated the names of all the martyrs who had been sacrificed on that spot.‡ His eminence's patience and piety were not, as we have seen, put to any very severe test. Yet, in spite of the sanctity of the earth, the structure itself was little benefitted.

At the end of the sixteenth century a little church, with a bell and a contiguous hermitage, were consecrated by Julio Sansedonio, patrician of Sienna and bishop of Grossetto, and this structure was repaired, in 1622, in those arches where the hermitage and chapel are now seen.

It was above the site of this church, on a wide plat-

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* John Cruccius was the man's name—the messenger disappeared after giving the crowns. Cruccius came home and told Ignatius, "Il S. Padre tosto rese grazie a Dio, senza dimostrare alcun segno di maraviglia, forse avendone avuto alcun lume superiore: ma quanto alla circostanza del luogo, che fu l' anfiteatro, sembra potersi credere, che seguisse anche per intercessione de' SS. Martiri, de' quali S. Ignazio fu divotissimo."—Marang., ib. 63. This is the way that books, and very good books too, are written at Rome.

† Ib. 64.

‡ "Ed a tempi nostri, son io testimonio, che ogni qualunque volto sono ivi passato col Signor Cardinale Ulderico Carpegna, questo piissimo Signore ha fatto sempre fermare la carozza con fare la commemorazione de' SS. Martiri, che ivi gloriosamente trionfarono."—Ibid. 64.

form which had been left entire over the arches of the old steps of the amphitheatre, that, from some time in the fifteenth century, the "Passion of our Saviour" had been performed on every Good Friday, by expert actors, to an audience which Pancirolus, in his 'Hidden Treasures,' * affirms was equal to that of the ancient games. We have notice of the 'Resurrection,' written by Julian Dati, the Florentine, also performed at the Coliseum, although the date in which that sacred farce (they are Tiraboschi's words †) was composed, cannot be precisely assigned. It might be contemporary with the 'Abraham and Isaac,' acted at Florence in 1449, with the 'Balaam and Josaphat,' the 'Conversion of Saint Paul,' and other mysteries brought upon the stage in the latter half of the fifteenth century.

These representations continued in the Coliseum until the reign of Paul III., whose prohibition to continue them bespeaks him perhaps guilty of devoting the building to his own purposes of plunder.

With the exception of the above-mentioned chapel-building,‡ we lose sight of the destination of the amphitheatre until 1671, when permission was obtained from Cardinal Altieri and the Senate to represent bull-fights in the arena for the space of six years, and this would have certainly taken place had not Clement X. listened

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* Tesori nascosti, quoted in Marangoni, p. 50.

† "Non possiamo accertare quando quella sacra farsa fosse da lui composta."—*Storia della Lett. Ital.*, tom. vi. par. iii. lib. iii. p. 814.

‡ Bramante Barsi got permission to excavate there in 1639.

to the deprecations of Carlo Tommassi, who wrote a treatise to prove the sanctity of the spot.* In consequence, the Pontiff employed the less pious zeal of Bernini, and by some arrangements of that artist set apart the whole monument to the worship of the martyrs. This was in 1675, the year of the jubilee.† The measures then taken to prevent the entrance of men, and animals, and carriages, by means of blocking up the lower arches, and to put a stop to nightly disorders, were, however, found insufficient, and Clement XI., in 1714, employed Bianchini in repairing the walls and finding other methods of closing the arcades, and about that time were also erected the altars of the Passion. A short time afterwards was painted the picture of Jerusalem and the Crucifixion, still seen within the western entrance.

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* The senate granted the permission, reserving a box for themselves, holding twenty persons, "senza pagamento alcuno." See the document in Marangoni, p. 72.

† One of the inscriptions affixed on that occasion runs thus—

"Amphitheatrum Flavium
Non tam operis mole et artificio ac veterum
Spectaculorum memoria
Quam Sacro Innumerabilium Martyrum
Cruore illustre
Venerabundus hospes ingredere
Et in augusto magnitudinis Romanæ monumento
Execrata Cæsarum sævitia
Heroes Fortitudinis Christianæ suspice
Et exora
Anno Jubilæi MDCLXXV.

The Romans were not pleased with being excluded from their amphitheatre, and in 1715 made an application for the keys, which the Pope refused. The neglect of the interior may be collected from a petition presented in 1727 to allow the hermit to let out *the grass which grew on the surface of the arena.** A solitary saint had been established in the ruins at the first building of the chapel, and it is to a respect for one of his successors that we owe an interposition in favour of the Coliseum, which it would perhaps never have commanded on its own account. An attempt was made in the night of the 11th of February, 1742, to assassinate the hermit, Francis Beaufort, and it was expressly on that occasion that the accomplished Lambertini was induced to renew the consecration of the Coliseum.† His inclosures and edicts cleared it of murderers and prostitutes, and repaired the fourteen altars, and erected the cross; but in spite of this judicious interference, and whatever were the cares of the truly antiquarian Braschi, half a century seems to have much hastened the progress of decay, and in 1801 the most intelligent of our countrymen foresaw the speedy dissolution of the whole structure.‡

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* Marangoni, ib. p. 73.

† The author of the memoir attributes the profanations suffered by the Coliseum to the devil himself. "Ma poichè l' infernale inimico continuamente procura," &c. p. 67. Benedict's edict bears date 1744.

‡ See Forsyth's Remarks, &c. p. 146, 2nd edit.

The great earthquake in 1703, which threw down several large masses towards the church of St. Gregory,* most probably loosened other portions of the ruin, and in the year 1813 one of the arches fell to the ground. The late government has propped the tottering fragment, and the immense buttress, which is modestly marked with the name and number of Pius VII., and is said to have cost seventy thousand crowns, will help to secure the yawning rents on the side towards the Lateran. Sentinels have been found a more effectual protection than the hermit, or the cross, or the walls.

With the leave of Maffei,† there is still something more than a piece of the bark left to wonder at. The antiquary may profit by the recent exposure of the substructures of the arena; but the clearing away of the soil, and the opening the arches, increases the satisfaction of the unlearned, though devout admirers, who are capable of being affected by the general result, however little they understand the individual details, and who wander amidst these stupendous ruins for no other instruction than that which must be suggested by so awful a memorial of fallen empire.

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* Marangoni calls it a wing of the building, on the authority of Ficoroni, who was in Rome at the time. Vestigia e rarità di Roma, p. 39. "Essendo caduta un ala del Colosseo verso San Gregorio," ib. p. 48. One of the internal arcades also fell down on the day on which Innocent XI. died, 12th of August, 1689.

† "Che genera ancor maraviglia con quel pezzo della corteccia che ne sussiste."—*Veron. Illust.*, p. iv. p. 24.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The Coliseum has been under constant repairs since 1817. I found in 1828 that a great deal had been done to clear those corridors which were the most incumbered with ruins; and that those parts which threatened danger had been propt up by substantial brick walls, a sort of new entrance had been constructed on the side fronting the Temple of Venus and Rome, and a very judicious finishing of brickwork had given strength to the ruin in that quarter. The hall allotted to the Imperial Family had been restored as far as was practicable, and the Imperial Podium had also been partially restored. A discovery had been made of the subterranean passage by which the Emperors proceeded from the Palatine to the amphitheatre. This passage was constructed by Commodus, and was nearly fatal to him, for here was concealed the assassin who missed his aim for the sake of the sarcasm that accompanied his blow. A garden with some agreeable walks had been planted on the declivity of the Celian Hill, immediately contiguous to the amphitheatre, and every care had been taken to protect the whole monument from future injury.

The controversy respecting the original level of the Arena has not, I believe, been yet decided; and as the underground stone-work which gave rise to it has been again covered with the soil, it is not likely that fresh arguments will be found to assist either of the contending parties. The question, it is modestly confessed,[a] has occasioned more clamour than has redounded to the honour of antiquarian researches; but the labours of BIANCHI could not be considered useless had they done no more than disinter the inscriptions given in a preceding page. It may be remarked, in regard to the second of these inscriptions, that if the stone-work discovered by Bianchi under the actual level, was raised by Pasilius in order to prop up the arena, there is no necessity for the supposition that the ancient level was, as some contend, fifteen feet lower than it now appears to be. It is acknowledged on all hands that the construction of the underground walls denoted a period which might well accord with the præfecture of Basilius.

Some hollow passages towards, and under, the basement of the Temple of Venus and Rome seem to belong to those passages by

[a] Nibby, Rom. For., p. 242.

which the machines were introduced into the amphitheatre on days of extraordinary exhibitions.

The last work at the Coliseum has been the clearing of the basement corridors. Two French sentinels were protecting the building in 1854. It was to be regretted that those efficient friends of his Holiness did not extend their care to some of the contiguous monuments of Roman grandeur. The Forum and the vast arcades of the Basilica of Constantine were at that time almost inapproachable from filth, and from the purposes to which the unhidden nooks of these ruins, crowded as they were by visitors, were unblushingly applied. It is absurd to eulogise the papal government for its care of Roman remains, whilst such abominations are permitted on such a spot, and whilst the Minerva of the contiguous Forum of Nerva (Palladian or Transitorian), with its half-buried columns, is as much neglected and disfigured by rubbish as it was half a century ago (1858).

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO.—TOMB OF HADRIAN.

THE Mole was constructed, it is thought, on the plan, nearly, of the Mausoleum of Augustus or of Cecilia Metella.

We must recur to Gibbon to notice two or three mistakes which he has made in his mention of this monument. The first occurs in his account of the defence of Rome by Belisarius, where he says that the sepulchre of Hadrian was then converted, "for the first time, to the uses of a citadel."* This does not seem probable, for the account given of it by Procopius tells us that it had become *a sort of tower*, and had, by additional works, been *anciently*† joined to the walls of Rome. Donatus‡ and Nardini§ believe it to have been fortified by Honorius at the first approach of the Goths, when he is recorded as having repaired the walls.

It preserved until the tenth century the name of the

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* Decline and Fall, &c. cap. xli. tom. vii. oct. p. 230.

† Παλαιοὶ ἄνθρωποι are his words. Γοτθικων. ἡ ἀ. p. 199.

‡ Lib. iv. cap. vii.

§ Lib. i. cap. x.

Prison or House of Theodoric,* by which appellation it is designated once or twice so late as the fifteenth century;† and this circumstance makes it appear that the Gothic monarch had made it capable of defence *previously* to the siege of the city by Vitiges.

The second error occurs in a note in the same place of the history, in which the *breadth* of the sides of the ancient square base is mistaken for the *height* above the walls.‡

Another inadvertency is to be found in that passage in which the historian tells us, that if the people "*could have wrested from the Popes the castle of St. Angelo,* they had resolved, by a public decree, to have annihilated that monument." § But the partisans of Urban VI., in the year 1378, which is the period alluded to, *did take* the Mole, which was surrendered to them after a year's siege by a Frenchman who commanded for the Genevese antipope Clement; and it was on that occasion that they stript off the marbles and destroyed the square base, and would, conformably to their decree,

* "Quod domum Theodorici dicunt."—Bertholdus, ap. Baron. Ann. Ecclesias. tom. vi. p. 552, ad an. 1084.

† It had then begun to be called Rocca, or Castello di Crescentio, but the names were promiscuously used to the fifteenth century.—Dissertazione sulle Rovine, &c. p. 386.

‡ "*The height above the walls,* σχεδον ες λιθου βοληϋ," says Gibbon, ibid. note 83. The words of Procopius are εὖρος μὲν σχεδόν τι ἐς λίθου βολὴν ἑκάστη ἔκουσα· πλευραὶ τε αὐτοῦ τέσσαρες εἰσὶν ἴσαι ἀλλήλαις, ibid.

§ Cap. lxxi. tom. xii. p. 418.

have torn down the round tower itself, but were unable from the compact solidity of the fabric.

The authority of Poggio alone, whom Gibbon cites and misinterprets, is decisive.* "The other [sepulchre]," says the Florentine, "which they commonly call the "castle of Saint Angelo, the violence of the Romans "hath, in a great measure, although the title of it is "still extant over the door, defaced: and, indeed, they "would have entirely destroyed it, if, after having taken "away many of the great stones, they had been able to "pull to pieces the remainder of the Mole." The resistance of the naked tower, when actually exposed to the triumphant rage of a whole people, must augment our respect for this indissoluble structure.

The efforts of the Romans are still visible in the jutting blocks which mark where the corresponding portion of the basement has been torn away. The damage must have been very great, and have totally changed the appearance of the monument. In fact, a contemporary writer,† one of Dante's commentators,

* "Alterum quod castrum sancti Angeli vulgo dicunt, magna ex parte Romanorum injuria, licet adhuc titulus supra portum extet integer, disturbavit; quod certe funditus evertissent (id enim publice decreverant) si eorum manibus pervia, absumtis grandibus saxis reliqua moles extitisset."—De Fortun. Variet. Urb. Rom. ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 507.

† "Sed proh dolor! istud sumptuosum opus destructum et prostratum est, de anno præsenti, 1389, per populum Romanum, quia fuerat aliquando detentum per fautores Roberti Cardinalis gebennensis."—Benvenuto de' Rambaldi da Imola. Comment. in Dant. cant. xviii. ver. 28, tom. 1, p. 1070. Oper. Dant.

Tiraboschi

talks of the "sumptuous work" being *destroyed and laid prostrate;* and another writer of the same times * records that the Romans did *so handle it and so dismantle it* that from that time the goats came to pasture about it.

The usual uncertainty obscures the original form of this structure. The Augustan historians have left us only two short notices, by which we know that the Tomb of Hadrian was at the foot of the bridge built by that Emperor. The restored figure given in the Itineraries, the triple range of columns, the sculptured marbles, the gilded peacocks, the brazen bull, and the Belvedere pine, date no farther back than the description of Pietro Manlio, who wrote about the year 1160, and who did not tell what he saw himself, but quoted a homily of Saint Leo.† Manlio himself saw it as a

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Tiraboschi (Storia, &c. tom. v. part ii. lib. iii. num. xi. p. 463) has corrected this date to 1379, making, at the same time, the following shameful mistake: "Perciocchè *parlando del Campidoglio* dice," (ib. p. 1070) "sed proh dolor! istud sumptuosum," &c. which shows that he never could have read the commentary itself, which says *nothing about the Capitol*, and where the castle of St. Angelo is specified in the words immediately preceding the above quotation. "Ideo denominatum est ab isto eventu Castrum Sancti Angeli, sed proh dolor," &c. The necessity of consulting originals is no where so obvious as in turning over the great Italian works of reference.

* "E si lo ebbero e tanto lo disfecero che a tempo dappoi ci givano le capre a pascare."—Steph. Infess. *Diario. ap. Script. Rerum Italic.*, tom. iii. part 2, p. 1115.

† "Est et Castellum, quod fuit memoria Adriani imperatoris sicut legitur in sermone S. Leonis Papæ de festivitate S. Petri ubi dicit Adriani Imperatoris miræ magnitudinis templum constructum

fortress, with a church, perhaps, on the top, as described by Luitprand, a little before the time of Otho III.* Yet the description of Manlio was followed by the anonymous pilgrim of the thirteenth century, and also by the sculptor of the bronze doors of St. Peter's in 1435, which furnish the original of the pictures seen in all the guide-books. The oldest description to be relied upon, that of Procopius, is much more simple. "Without the Aurelian gate," says he, "a stone's throw from the walls, is the tomb of the Emperor Hadrian, a striking and memorable work. For it is composed of Parian marble, and the stones adhere compactly together, although without cement. Each of the sides is in breadth a stone's throw, and the four sides are equal

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quod totum lapidibus coopertum et diversis historiis est perornatum: in circuito vero cancellis æneis circumseptum, cum pavonibus aureis et tauro æneo; ex quibus (pavonibus) duo fuerunt de illis qui sunt in cantharo Paradisi. In quatuor partes templi fuerunt quatuor caballi ænei deaurati, in unaquaque fronte portæ æneæ: in medio giro fuit sepulchrum porphyreticum quod nunc est Lateranis in quo sepultus est Innocen ius Papa II. cujus coopertorium est in Paradiso B. Petri super sepulchrum Præfecti."—See Historia Basilicæ Antiquæ S. Petri Apost. in Vatic. cap. vii. p. 50, ad beatiss. pat. Alexand. III. Pont. Max. apud Acta Sanctorum, tom. vii. part. ii. p. 37, edit. 1717, Ant. Alexander was elected in 1159: there are interpolations in this history from the pen of a Roman canon of the Vatican, Paul de Angelis.—See Prefat. p. 36.

* "In ingressu Romanæ urbis quædam est miri operis miræque fortitudinis constituta munitio.. .. .. munitio autem ipsa, ut cetera desinam, tantæ altitudinis est, ut Ecclesia quæ in ejus vertice videtur in honore summi et cælestis militiæ principis Archangeli Michaelis fabricata dicatur Ecclesia *sancti Angeli usque ad cælos.*"—De rebus per Europam gestis, lib. iii. cap. xii. fo. 51, edit. 1514.

one to another: the height exceeds that of the walls. On the top are seen many admirable statues of men and horses of the same marble; and because this tomb seemed, as it were, a stronghold over against the city, the ancients joined it to the walls by two branches, which connected it with the town wall; it looks, therefore, like a high tower protecting the neighbouring gateway." *

If then there was any colonnade similar to that of the plans, it must have disappeared before the time of Procopius; and the editor of Winkelmann, who avers that there are still evident traces of the adjustment of a vault, which sprang from the tower and terminated on the circular portico, asks whether it is probable that the pillars of the lower range may have been employed in forming the great portico which led to the Vatican, or in building the Vatican Basilica itself.† By this query, it is presumed, he thinks such a conjecture is probable, notwithstanding the columnar ornaments of the sepulchre are merely traditional, and are falsely supposed to have enriched St. Paul's, *without the walls*, with her

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* Procop, in loc. sup. cit.

† "Sarebbe mai probabile il dire, che le colonne più grandi abbiano servito al mentovato gran portico, che dalla mole giugneva fino alla basilica Vaticana, restaurato, e ampliato di molto dal Pontefice S. Adriano. O che siano state impiegate nella stessa Basilica Vaticana?"—Dissertazione sulle Rovine, &c. p. 386. If so, the church has another plunder to be noted of the monuments of Rome.

paonazzetto pillars, and the Lateran with those of verd-antique.

A more correct judgment could have been formed before the destruction in 1379 than can be deduced from the present naked skeleton of peperine, surrounded as it is by the repairs and outworks of successive pontiffs: for it should be borne in mind by the spectator, that, excepting the circular mass, he sees nothing which dates earlier than the beginning of the fifteenth century, and that even the round tower itself has been much changed by the explosion of the powder-magazine in 1497, the final reparation of which reduced the fortress to its present form.

The fate of the modern city, and even of the papal power, has in some measure depended upon the castle of Saint Angelo; and, by a lamentable coincidence, the tomb of one of their despots has helped to perpetuate the subjection of the Roman people. Of such importance was this fort to the pontiffs, that the taking of it is, by an ecclesiastical writer, ranked with a famine, an eclipse, and an earthquake.*

At one time it commanded the only entrance into Rome on the Tuscan side.† The seizure of it by the

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* "Eodem anno per totum orbem magna fames fuit, ita quod exinde multi homines mortui sunt: et sol eclypsim passus est, *castrum S. Angeli captum est*, terra mota est."—Vit. Pontif. Card. de Aragon. et alior. ap. *Script. Rer. Italic.*, tom. iii. p. 313, speaking of the year 1084.

† Luitprand, in loc. sup. cit.

Patrician Theodora, in the beginning of the tenth century, was one of the first steps towards the establishment of the power of herself and the more famous Marozia, her daughter; and the possession of it enabled her lover, Pope John X., after her death probably, to expel from Rome Alberic, Marquis of Camerino, the husband of the same Marozia.* The daughter, however, was mistress of the castle in 925, and handed it over, with the sovereignty of Rome, to her second and third husbands, Guido and Hugo. Her son Alberic drove away the latter, who was obliged to drop down from the battlements upon the town wall. The castle stood two sieges against Hugo, and passed into the hands of the Patrician Pope John XII. That pontiff and Adalbert,

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* There are some doubts and difficulties respecting these two persons whom Gibbon calls *sisters* (cap. xlix. vol. iv. oct. p. 197). Marozia had a sister, Theodora, whom Baronius, by a great mistake, calls the wife of Adalbert II., Duke or Marquis of Tuscany (Annali d' Italia, ad an. 917, tom. v. p. 282): but the lady to whom the exploits of a Theodora seem to belong, was the *mother* of Marozia, and she who placed her lover, the Bishop of Ravenna, on the papal throne, under the name of John X. in the year 914. This is the *scortum impudens* of Luitprand, who says of her, "Romanæ civitatis non inviriliter monarchiam obtinebat." (Annali ad an. 914, ib. p. 273.) Gibbon tells us, that "*the bastard son, the grandson, and the great grandson of Marozia, a rare genealogy, were seated in the chair of Saint Peter*" (ibid. p. 198); but John XI. was the son of her husband, Alberic, not of her lover, Pope Sergius III., as Muratori has distinctly stated. (Annali, ad an. 911, tom. v. p. 268.) Her grandson John, otherwise called John XII. was Pope; but a great grandson cannot be discovered in any of the succeeding Popes, nor does our historian himself, in his subsequent narration (pag. 202), seem to know of one.

son of King Berenger, endeavoured to hold it against Otho the Great (A.D. 963), but were compelled to retire.* The Saxon emperor came to Rome, and deposed John for "hunting and calling on Jove and Venus, and other demons, to help him when he played at dice, besides other irregularities."† Otho addressed himself to the assembly in Saxon, not being able to speak Latin. Benedict VI. was murdered in the castle by Cardinal Boniface Francone (in 973), who was driven from Rome by Benedict VII., but kept the Mole by means of a band of ruffians, and thus enabled himself to return from Constantinople, when he put to death another pope, John XIV. This was in 984 or 985.‡

It was in the succeeding pontificate of John XV. that the Cæsar Crescentius seized and re-fortified the castle so strongly that it was called afterwards his *rock* or *tower*, and all the efforts of an imperial army, commanded by Otho III. in person, were insufficient to dislodge him. His surrender was the effect of treachery, not of force.

The next memorable notice of the castle is the two years blockade of the anti-pope Cadaloo, in the time of

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* The dates of some of these events will have been seen in another place. Luitprand is the authority for Hugo king of Burgundy's method of escape.

† "In ludo aleæ, Jovis, Veneris, cæterorumque dæmonum auxilium poposcisse dixerunt."—Luitprand, lib. vi. cap. vii. fol. xc. He was accused also of turning the Lateran into a brothel; in short, of every thing but the real offence, *his opposition to Otho.*

‡ Muratori has the first, Baronius the second date.

Alexander II., in the years 1063 and 1064.* Gregory VII. defended himself in the fortress against the Roman partisans of Henry IV., and in this transaction also the Mole appears to have been impregnable. The people and the Germans could not force their way into it, and the only effort made was to prevent Gregory from getting out. He was liberated by the army of Guiscard, but the castle fell into the hands of his enemies. The troops of the Countess Matilda put it in possession of Victor III., whose garrison held it against the partisans of the anti-pope Guibert in 1087. It was attacked by the people, and yielded by Urban II., not, however, in consequence of a violent assault † (A.D. 1091). It was then resolved to level this "lasting shame" with the ground: but the anti-pope Guibert, Clement III., retained it for his own service, and defended it for seven years against his opponents.

The army of the Crusaders, in 1096, assaulted it in vain. Urban recovered it by composition in 1098. Another anti-pope, Anaclete II., wrested it from the hands of Innocent II., who returning with the Emperor Lothaire III., tried, without success, to recover it. This occurred in 1137, and in the following year, after

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* Annali d' Italia, ad an. cit. There is a short history of the castle of St. Angelo in Donatus, lib. iv. cap. vii., which being founded chiefly on Baronius, seems very incorrect, especially as to dates.

† Baronius would make it appear so.—See Annali ad an. 1091, tom. vi. p. 303.

the death of Anaclete and the deposition of Victor IV., Innocent was again master of the Mole.* The Peter Leone family guarded it for the successive pontiffs, Celestine II., Lucius II., and Eugenius III., up to the year 1153,† when the new senate occupied this and the other fortresses. It stood a siege for Alexander III. against Frederic Barbarossa, in 1167, but fell into the hands of the senate after the retreat of that pontiff.

The subsequent popes, however, seem to have been the nominal masters of it, even when they had lost nearly the whole of the temporal power at Rome,‡ and after the retreat to Avignon. A legate was governor at the elevation of Rienzi, and after his fall the Tribune remained for a month securely posted in the citadel. Innocent VI., hearing of the death of his Tribune-senator Rienzi, was alarmed lest the barons should seize the Mole, and accordingly delivered it into the keeping of Hugo Lusignan, king of Cyprus, then appointed Senator. On the return from Avignon it received Gregory XI. (1376); but his successor, Urban VI., lost it in the hurry of the election. The opposing cardinals would not deliver it into his hands, and the captain of their anti-pope, Clement VII., defended it, as already described, until 1378, the date of its destruction.

It remained dismantled until 1382, when two Romans

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* Annali, tom. vi. p. 461.

† Ibid. ad an. cit.

‡ Donatus, lib. iv. cap. vii. p. 890. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. iii.

said to Boniface IX., "If you wish to maintain the dominion of Rome, fortify Castle Saint Angelo."* He followed their advice, and a great antiquary records the consequence: "Boniface IX., the pontiff, first fortified the Mole of Hadrian, and *established the papal power.*"† The people petitioned Innocent VII. to restore to them *their liberty*, the *Capitol*, the *Milvian Bridge*, and the *Mole*, and seized, for a moment, all but the latter, which they assaulted, but were repulsed by the pontifical troops and totally routed in the gardens of Nero, in the Vatican.

Ladislaus, of Naples, expelled Pope John XXIII., and left the castle in the possession of his daughter, Johanna II. It now stood another siege from Braccio Montoni,‡ and was soon afterwards delivered to Pope Martin V.

During the reign of Eugenius IV. a plan was laid for murdering the governor, and when that pope was driven from the city, the people attacked it furiously, but were unable to prevail. Sixtus IV. renewed the practice of naming cardinals to the præfecture of the castle. Nicholas V. added something to the fortifications; but Alexander VI. constructed the brickworks on the summit,

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* "Se tu vuoi mantenere lo stato di Roma, acconcia castel Sant' Angelo."—Steph. Infess. diario, ibid. p. 1115, loc. cit.

† "Bonifacius IX. Pontif. max. primus, molè Hadriani munita, Romanorum Pontificum ditionem stabilivit."—Onuf. Panvinii Descrip. Urb. Romæ. ap. Græv., tom. iii. p. 299.

‡ The dates will have been seen in previous notice of the destruction of Roman edifices.

and also the bastions in front of the Tiber. These additions enabled it to withstand the Imperialists of Charles V. for seven months; and it was not finally taken by assault, but surrendered, by Clement VII. and his thirteen cardinals, upon terms. Paul III. and Pius IV. adorned and strengthened it; but the great engineer was Urban VIII.; he added a mound, a ditch, a bastion, and a hundred pieces of cannon of different calibre, thereby making it evident, as Donatus quaintly observes, that "his bees (the Barberini arms) not only gave honey, but had stings for the fight."*

Since the modern improvements in artillery, it is clear that the castle, commanded, as it is, by all the neighbouring hills, could never resist a cannonade. It was surrendered during the late war of 1814, after an idle menace from the French captain, that the angel on the top should sheath his sword before the garrison would capitulate.

Yet it has completely answered the intention of Boniface, and the Tomb of Hadrian has served for the basis of a modern throne. This must magnify our conceptions of the massive fabrics of ancient Rome; but the destruction of the memorial would have been preferable to the establishment of the monarchy.

The interior of the castle is scarcely worth a visit,

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* "Nimirum apes non solum mel conficiunt sed etiam aculeatæ armantur ad pugnam."—Lib. iv. cap. vii. ibid. Books were written to show how it should be fortified; so the writer found somewhere; he believes in Guicciardini.

except it be for the sake of mounting to the summit and enjoying the prospect of the windings of the Tiber. The memorials of Hadrian are reduced to a bust, and a copy of it shown in the principal saloon, whose frescoes are very little attractive, after the sight of the masterpieces in that art. The size, however, of the room is so considerable, that a tragedy was represented there under the direction of Cardinal Riario in presence of the whole papal court.* The living still continue to be entombed in the repository of the dead, and the exploit of Cellini, which a view of the fortress makes less surprising, has been repeated by a late prisoner.

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* Tiraboschi, Storia, &c. tom. vi. par. iii. lib. iii. p. 816. This was about the year 1492. Innocent VIII. was spectator, and the academicians of Pomponius Lætus were the actors. The plays were performed also in the cardinal's house, and "in media Circi caveâ," probably the Coliseum.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PYRAMID OF CESTIUS.

IT must seem singular that so little should be known of the two persons whose tombs were to survive those of so many illustrious names.* Cestius is as little famous

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* Perhaps the same may be said of the tomb of Bibulus—"ignoto pero è il soggetto che ebbe quest'onore," says Nibby in Roma nell' anno xxxviii. par. antic. p. 535. But Nibby identifies this Cestius with the Cestius mentioned by Cicero in his oration for Flaccus—"Stabilita la data del monumento circa l' anno 719 di Roma è chiaro che questo Cajo Cestio e quello medesimo ricordato da Cicerone pro Flacco e nella lettera scritta per Attico da Efeso l' anno 702."—Roma nell' anno 1838, p. 88, part. ii. antica, 1842.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

A remarkable proof of the accretion of soil in this part of Rome is seen in the trench dug down to the old level of the Appian Way, near the Cestian Pyramid. The road is laid bare at the bottom of the trench, and an inscription records the work and the result of it (1854).

The Protestant burying-ground is close to the Cestian Pyramid, and there may be seen memorials to men who did not obtain the same renown when alive as seems to be accorded to them after their death. It remains to be proved whether succeeding generations will confirm the judgment of their contemporaries, or of their im-

as Metella, and his pyramid is no less conspicuous than her tower. Oblivion, however, has been kind perhaps to one who has left no other present to posterity than this ambitious sepulchre; if, as there is some reason to suspect, this Cestius, Tribune of the people, Prætor, and a Septemvir, is the same Cestius, a Prætor, and flatterer of the Augustan court, who was publicly scourged by the order of Marcus Cicero, the son, for presuming to defame his father in his presence.*

A learned person who wrote a dissertation on this pyramid, and disproved the mistake of Panvinius in supposing Cestius to be the consul of that name mentioned in the annals of Tacitus,† asserts that there is a total silence with respect to him in all ancient authors, but that he must have died, at least, as early as the middle of the reign of Augustus.‡ The Cestius above mentioned did not suggest himself to the antiquary, and perhaps may be the man we want.

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* M. Seneca. Suasor. 7.

† Lib. vi. cap. 31.

‡ "Altissimum enim de illo apud scriptores veteres silentium est."—Octav. Falconierii, de pyramide C. Cestii Epulonis, dissertatio, ap. Græv. Antiq. Rom., tom. iv. p. 1475.

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mediate successors. The admiration of Byron has given place to the worship of Shelley, and to a fondness for Keats, and it seems to me somewhat unjust that the genius and literary merits of the first of these poets cannot be acknowledged without an attempt to depreciate the author of Childe Harold.

THE EGERIAN GROTTO.

The respectable authority of Flaminius Vacca induced me formerly to believe in the claims of the Egerian grotto.* He assures us that he saw an inscription in the pavement, stating that the fountain was that of Egeria dedicated to the nymphs. The inscription is not there at this day; but Montfaucon quotes two lines† of Ovid from a stone in the Villa Giustiniani, which he seems to think had been brought from the same grotto.

This grotto and valley were formerly frequented in summer, and particularly the first Sunday in May, by the modern Romans, who attached a salubrious quality to the fountain which trickles from an orifice at the bottom of the vault, and, overflowing the little pools,

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* "Poco lontano dal detto luogo si scende ad un casaletto, del quale ne sono Padroni li Cafarelli, che con questo nome è chiamato il luogo; vi è una fontana sotto una gran volta antica, che al presente si gode, e li Romani vi vanno l' estate a ricrearsi; nel pavimento di essa fonte si legge in un epitaffio essere quella la fonte di Egeria, dedicata alle ninfe, e questa, dice l' epitaffio, essere la medesima fonte in cui fu convertita."—Memorie, &c. ap. Nardini, pag. 13. He does not give the inscription

† "In villa Justiniana extat ingens lapis quadratus solidus in quo sculpta hæc duo Ovidii carmina sunt:

Ægeria est quæ præbet aquas dea grata Camœnis;
Illa Numæ conjunx consiliumque fuit.

Qui lapis videtur ex eodem Egeriæ fonte, aut ejus vicinia isthunc comportatus."—Diarium Italic. p. 153.

creeps down the matted grass into the brook below. The brook is the Ovidian Almo, whose name and qualities are lost in the modern Aquataccio. The valley itself is called Valle di Caffarelli, from the dukes of that name who made over their fountain to the Pallavicini, with sixty *rubbia* of adjoining land.

The Egerian valley of Juvenal, and the pausing place of Umbritius, was by most of the satirist's commentators supposed to have been in the Arician grove, where the nymph met Hippolitus, and where she was more peculiarly worshipped.

The step from the Porta Capena to the Alban hill, fifteen miles distant, would be too considerable, unless we were to believe in the wild conjecture of Vossius, who makes that gate travel from its present station, where he pretends it was during the reign of the kings, as far as the Arician grove, and then makes it recede to its old site with the shrinking city.* The tufo, or pumice, which the poet prefers to marble, is the substance composing the bank in which the grotto is sunk.

Modern topographers † found in the Caffarelli grotto the statue of the nymph and nine niches for the Muses, and Eustace ‡ discovered that the cave is restored to

* De Magnit. Vet. Rom. ap. Græv. Ant. Rom., tom. iv. p. 1507.

† Echinard. Descrizione di Roma e dell' agro Romano corretto dall' Abate Venuti in Roma, 1750. They believe in the grotto and nymph. "Simulacro di questo fonte, essendovi sculpite le acque a pie de esso."

‡ Classical Tour, chap. vi, p. 217, vol. ii.

that simplicity which the poet regretted had been exchanged for injudicious ornament. But the headless statue is palpably rather a male than a nymph, and has none of the attributes ascribed to it at present visible. The nine Muses could hardly have stood in six niches; and Juvenal certainly does not allude to any individual cave.* Nothing can be collected from the satirist but that somewhere near the Porta Capena was a spot in which it was supposed Numa held nightly consultations with his nymph, and where there was a grove and a sacred fountain, and fanes once consecrated to the Muses; and that from this spot there was a descent into the valley of Egeria, where were several artificial caves. It is clear that the statues of the Muses made no part of the decoration which the satirist thought misplaced in these caves; for he expressly assigns other fanes (delubra) to these divinities above the valley, and moreover tells us that they had been ejected to make room for the Jews. In fact the little temple, now called that of Bacchus, was

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* "Substitit ad veteres arcus, madidamque Capenam,
Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ.
Nunc sacri fontis nemus, et delubra locantur
Judæis quorum cophinum fœnumque supellex.
Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere jussa est
Arbor, et ejectis mendicat silva Camœnis.
In vallem Egeriæ descendimus, et speluncas
Dissimiles veris: quanto præstantius esset
Numen aquæ, viridi si margine clauderet undas
Herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum."
Sat. III.

formerly thought to belong to the Muses, and Nardini* places them in a poplar grove, which was in his time above the valley.

It is probable, from the inscription and position, that the cave now shown may be one of the "artificial caverns," of which, indeed, there is another a little way higher up the valley, under a tuft of alder bushes; but a *single* grotto of Egeria is a mere modern invention, grafted upon the application of the epithet Egerian to these nymphea in general, and which might send us to look for the haunts of Numa upon the banks of the Thames.

Our English Juvenal was not seduced into mistranslation by his acquaintance with Pope. He carefully preserves the correct plural—

> "Thence slowly winding down the vale, we view
> The Egerian *grots*; oh, how unlike the true!"

The valley abounds with springs,† and over these springs, which the Muses might haunt from their neighbouring groves, Egeria presided: hence she was said to supply them with water; and she was the nymph of the grottos through which the fountains were taught to flow.‡

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* Lib. iii. cap. iii.

† "Undique e solo aquæ scaturiunt."—Nardini, lib. iii. cap. iii.

‡ The true Egerian valley is now found within the city wall, where a brook runs across the road, at the spot assigned to the site of the old Porta Capena. That site is marked by the figure of an

The whole of the monuments in the vicinity of the Caffarelli valley have received names at will, which have been changed at will. Venuti * owns he can see no traces of the temples of Jove, Saturn, Juno, Venus, and Diana, which Nardini found, or hoped to find. The mutatorium of the circus ascribed to Caracalla, the Temple of Honour and Virtue, the Temple of Bacchus, and, above all, the Temple of the god Rediculus, are the antiquaries' despair.

The circus was given to Caracalla † in consequence of a medal of that emperor cited by Fulvius Ursinus, of which the reverse shows a circus, supposed, however, by some to represent the Circus Maximus. It gives a very good idea of that place of exercise. The soil has been but little raised, if we may judge from the small cellular structure at the end of the Spina, which was probably the chapel of the god Consus. This cell is half beneath the soil, as it must have been in the circus itself, for Dionysius ‡ could not be persuaded to believe that this

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arrow cut in the wall of a vineyard. The brook turns a mill. The former Egerian grotto is given to the god Almo, whose statue has succeeded to that of the nymph. The valley winds under the Cœlian hill towards the Lateran. [1854.]

* Echinard, &c. Cic. cit., p. 297-298.

† But in 1842 this circus was universally called the Circus of Romulus—not the founder of the great city, but the son of Maxentius. The excavations of the Duke of Torlonia, or rather an inscription found in the brick ruins near the Carceres, have satisfied the antiquarians on that point.

‡ Antiq. Rom., lib. ii. cap. xxxi.

divinity was the Roman Neptune, because his altar was underground.

TOMB OF CECILIA METELLA.

Four words and two initials compose the whole of the inscription, which, whatever was its ancient position, is now placed in front of this towering sepulchre:

CÆCILIAE . Q. CRETICI. F. METELLAE . CRASSI.

It is more likely to have been the pride than the love of Crassus which raised so superb a memorial to a wife whose name is not mentioned in history, unless she be supposed to be that lady whose intimacy with Dolabella was so offensive to Tullia the daughter of Cicero, or she who was divorced by Lentulus Spinther, or she, perhaps the same person, from whose ear the son of Æsopus transferred a precious jewel to enrich his draught.*

When Mr. Bayle wanted to find another Roman matron of the same name with whom to divide the redundant vices of two or three other Cecilia Metellas, he seems to have known nothing of this wife of Crassus and daughter of the Cretic Metellus, whom, otherwise, he might have suspected of being the counterpart of his Madame D'Olonne.†

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* "Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ
(Scilicet ut decies solidum exsorberet) aceto
Diluit insignem baccam."
Hor. *Sat.*, lib. ii. *Sat.* iii. ver. 239.

† Dictionnaire, article "Metella."

The common people have been more attentive to the ornaments of the sculptor than to the memory of the matron, for the metopes of the frieze, or a single ox's head with the Gaetani arms, gave to this tower during the middle ages the name of Capo di Bove.* There appears to have been another place of the same name near Ostia in the year 953, unless this tomb should be supposed to be the place alluded to in an old charter of that date.† It was, indeed, an old Roman name, for Suetonius mentions that Augustus was born at a spot in the Palatine called *ad capita bubula.*‡

At what period the tomb of Metella was converted into the citadel of a fort can be guessed only by the period at which the monuments in the city were occupied by the nobles. Certain it is that the tomb was put at once to this purpose without any previous spoliation, and that the garrison unconcernedly dwelt over not only the mausoleum but the very ashes of Metella, for the coffin remained in the interior of the sepulchre to the time of Paul III., who removed it to the court of the Farnese palace.§ The Savelli family were in pos-

* Nardini, lib. iii. cap. iii. appears to say it is called Capo di Bove, from a single ox's head sculptured over the door, with the arms of the Gaetani, which Echinard (Agro Romano, &c., p. 295) also notices, but which the writer does not recollect to have seen.

† Dissertazione sulle Rovine, &c., p. 391, note B.

‡ In vita August., cap. v.

§ Echinard, Agro Romano, ibid. in loc. citat. note. This, how-

session of the fortress in 1312, and the German army of Henry VII. marched from Rome,* attacked, took, and burnt it, but were unable to make themselves by force masters of the citadel, that is, of the tomb, which must give us a high notion of its strength or of their weakness. The soldiers of the tomb surrendered their post upon terms, and Henry transferred the whole property to a brother of John Savelli who had married one of the Colonna, and who was to keep it until a sum of 20,000 marks, due to the Emperor, had been discharged by the dispossessed baron. The Gaetani family became masters of the place afterwards; they raised the walls which are still seen contiguous to the tomb, and were part of their mansion and adjoining offices. To their labours is ascribed the superstructure, part of which still remains on the top of the monument.

Poggio † saw the tomb entire when he first came to

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ever, is disputed by Canina,[a] who thinks that the sarcophagus belongs to Herodes Atticus, and was not found in this tomb, but on the site of the villa of Herodes, where also were discovered the little columns with the Triopeian inscriptions, now at Naples.[b]

* "Unde moti Romani cum Theotonicis ad unum castrum, quod vocatur caput Bovis prope urbem ad duo milliaria, quod castrum erat Domini Johannis de Sabello, cucurrerunt, et castrum, excepta arce, violenter acceperunt, et partem combusserunt," &c. &c.—Iter Italicum Henrici VII. Imper., *Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. ix. p. 918.

† "Juxta Viam Appiam ad secundum lapidem integrum vidi sepulchrum Q. Cæciliæ Metellæ, opus egregium, et id tot seculis

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[a] Parte Prima della Via Appia, p. 87, note 25.

[b] Ib. pp. 89-91, note.

Rome, but during his absence the Romans had ground *this noble work*, for the most part, to lime. This demolition, however, must be understood only of the square basement, on which, like the mausoleum of Hadrian, the round tower was raised. Nor was it complete even of the basement, which was not reduced to its present condition until the time of Urban VIII., who, we have seen, cut away some of the travertine blocks for the construction of the fountain of Trevi. The destroyer of the adjoining fortress was Sixtus Quintus, the Hercules of modern Rome, who dislodged every Cacus and cleared the Pontifical states of their dens.

The tomb has, indeed, been much disfigured, and the lower part of it retains only a few jutting blocks of its former structure; but it is still amongst the most conspicuous of the Roman ruins, and Gibbon must have been strangely forgetful of what he had seen when he wrote "*The sepulchre of Metella has sunk under its outworks.*" * On the contrary, it is the sepulchre which

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intactum, ad calcem postea majore ex parte exterminatum."—*De Fortunæ Varietate*, p. 508. From this period also Canina dates the general destruction of the monuments on the Appian Way—"Da quell' epoca (1440) sino in proximità dei tempi nostri si è continuata a distruggere quanto di più rimaneva della stessa Via Appia."—(La Parte Prima della Via Appia, Notizie Preliminarie, p. 21, note 18, edit. 1853.)

* Decline and Fall, cap. lxxi. p. 415, tom. xii. To this he has the following note:—"I must copy an important passage of Montfaucon: Turris ingens rotunda . . . Cæciliæ Metellæ . . . sepulchrum

remains and the outworks which have sunk. The feeble labours of puny modern nerves are fast crumbling round the massive fabric which seems to promise an existence as long as the period of its former duration.

TOMBS ON THE APPIAN WAY.

On the 14th of January, 1854, I went to see the recent excavations on the Appian Way, that extend for three miles beyond the tomb of Cecilia Metella. Except at Pompeji, I know nothing like this road of tombs. Nothing can be more interesting and imposing than the

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erat, cujus muri tam solidi ut spatium perquam minimum intus vacuum supersit; et Torre di bove dicitur, a boum capitibus muro inscriptis. Huic, sequiori ævo, tempore intestinorum bellorum, ceu urbecula adjuncta fuit, cujus mœnia et turres etiamnum visuntur; ita ut sepulchrum Metellæ quasi arx oppiduli fuerit. Ferventibus in urbe partibus, cum Ursini atque Columnenses mutuis cladibus perniciem inferrent civitati, in utriusve partis ditionem cederet magni momenti erat." This passage, which the reader will find in the Diarium Italicum, p. 156, surely need not have been ushered in with such solemnity, as if it related a fact to be collected nowhere else than in Montfaucon, or as if the occupation of Roman monuments by the factions was to be seen only at this tomb. Nothing remarkable is told by Montfaucon except the fact contradicted by the passage to which this note is appended, namely, that there *was a great tower* which had been the sepulchre of Metella, consequently that the said sepulchre had *not* "sunk under its outworks."

Excavations were made in 1836 within the tomb, but nothing was discovered, except the fact that the suggestions of Santi Bartoli and Piranesi with respect to the inner cell of the tomb were unfounded.—See Canina, *Via Appia*, p. 87.

general appearance of these sepulchres—these records of ages long past, of a people the like of whom are not now to be found upon earth. I am not sure that it has been wise to stick the fragments of contiguous tombs on the same structure, as if they all originally belonged to it; but, seen at a little distance, the whole effect is most impressive, and the long line of broken aqueducts stretching across the Campagna to the left (E.), the wild level down spreading to the sea on the right, the Alban Hills, with Castel Gandolfo, Marino, Grotto Ferrata, and Frescati, in white patches on the hills in front, under a deep blue sky and apparently close to us, surprised me and my young companion into repeated exclamations of admiration and delight.

The first to attempt a restoration of the tombs on the Appian Way was Canova, in 1808, when he put together, as before mentioned, the fragments of the monument of M. Servilius Quartus. The next restorer was the Abate Fea, who wrote a treatise on the Reconstruction of the Appian Way from Rome to Brindisi. But the last and most successful of the labourers in this quarter was Canina. He died only a short time ago (1858), but has left behind him many splendid proofs of his antiquarian exertions. A specimen of his painstaking genius may be found in the enumeration of the principal authorities consulted by him to ascertain the length of the old Roman mile, deduced from the exact measurement of the Roman foot, will be found at page 243 of his Appian

Way, Appendix 20.* More conjecture than reality is naturally the result of these restorations, but several great names have been applied to the tombs from fragmentary inscriptions, and notices extracted from the works of Cicero down to the legends of the saints and martyrs. We have a tomb of Seneca at the fourth milestone from Rome, with a stone sarcophagus and a relief, representing, some thought, the death of that personage, but more likely telling the famous story from Herodotus of the death of Atys and Adrastus.† An earlier mound is assigned to M. Cecilius and Pomponius Atticus; the latter of whom, however, I do not quite recognise in the epithet applied to him by the antiquary: "Cornelio Nepote, in fine della vita di "Pomponio Attico, dicendo che *questo illustre Capitano* "fu sepolto vicino alla Via Appia, alla quinta lapide nel "monumento di Q. Cecilio suo zio materno." ‡

A letter of Count Borghesi, dated in September, 1851, gave several of the fragmentary inscriptions found on the Appian Way. One of them is considered by the Count to have referred to a remarkable man because it records of him, a certain Erchidnus, that he was killed in Lusitania, such record being very unusual. It seems that some of those who wrote the inscriptions, or to whom they referred, were anxious

* E così il miglio composto di mille passi, cioè di mille piedi, si trovera correspondere a metri 1481, 750, Appendix II. p. 248.

† Via Appia, p. 103.

‡ Ibid. p. 129.

that the deceased should not appear more important than he really was, for on the right hand of the road between the sixth and seventh milestone, was found a sepulchral stone, with these letters: P. DECVMIUS. M. P. V. L. (PHILOMVSVS) Μὺς; and, to prevent the possibility of the deceased being thought a lover of the Muses instead of mice, two of these little animals were sculptured on the sides of the Greek word.*

Mr. Eastlake has discovered some tombs on the Via Latina, the architectural decorations of which have appeared to him to be worthy of peculiar notice.

THE ALBAN HILL—CICERO'S TUSCULAN VILLA—THE VILLA OF HORACE.

The whole declivity of the Alban hill is of unrivalled beauty, and from the convent on the highest point, which has succeeded to the Temple of the Latian Jupiter, the prospect embraces the Mediterranean, the whole scene of the latter half of the Æneid, and the coast from beyond the mouth of the Tiber to the headland of Circæum and the Cape of Terracina.

The site of Cicero's villa may be supposed either at the Grotta Ferrata, or at the Tusculum of Prince Lucian Buonaparte.

The former was thought some years ago the actual site, as may be seen from Middleton's Life of Cicero.

* Via Appia, p. 164.

At present it has lost something of its credit, except for the Domenichinos. Nine monks of the Greek order live there, and the adjoining villa is a cardinal's summer-house. The other villa, called Rufinella, is on the summit of the hill above Frascati, and many rich remains of Tusculum have been found there, besides seventy-two statues of different merit and preservation, and seven busts.

From the same eminence are seen the Sabine hills, embosomed in which lies the long valley of Rustica. There are several circumstances which tend to establish the identity of this valley with the "*Ustica*" of Horace; and it seems possible that the mosaic pavement which the peasants uncover by throwing up the earth of a vineyard, may belong to his villa. Rustica is pronounced short, not according to our stress upon "*Usticæ cubantis.*" It is more rational to think that we are wrong than that the inhabitants of this secluded valley have changed their tone in this word. The addition of the consonant prefixed is nothing; yet it is necessary to be aware that Rustica may be a modern name which the peasants may have caught from the antiquaries.

The villa, or the mosaic, is in a vineyard on a knoll covered with chesnut trees. A stream runs down the valley, and although it is not true, as said in the guide books, that this stream is called Licenza, yet there is a village on a rock at the head of the valley which is so denominated, and which may have taken its name from the Digentia. Licenza contains 700 inhabitants. On a peak a little way beyond is Civitella, containing 300.

On the banks of the Anio, a little before you turn up into Valle Rustica, to the left, about an hour from the *villa*, is a town called Vico-varo, another favourable coincidence with the *Varia* of the poet. At the end of the valley, towards the Anio, there is a bare hill, crowned with a little town called Bardela. At the foot of this hill the rivulet of Licenza flows, and is almost absorbed in a wide sandy bed before it reaches the Anio. Nothing can be more fortunate for the lines of the poet, whether in a metaphorical or direct sense:

> "Me quotiens reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
> Quem Mandela bibit rugosus frigore pagus."

The stream is clear high up the valley, but before it reaches the hill of Bardela looks green and yellow, like a sulphureous rivulet. Rocca Giovane, a ruined village on the hills, half an hour's walk from the vineyard where the pavement is shown, does seem to be the site of the Fane of Vacuna, and an inscription found there tells that the Temple of the Sabine Victory was repaired by Vespasian.*

With these helps, and a position corresponding exactly

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* IMP. CÆSAR. VESPASIANUS
AUG. PONTIFEX MAXIMUS. TRIB.
POTESTATIS. CÆNSOR. ÆDEM. VICTORIÆ
*vetus*TATE DILAPSAM SUA IMPENSA
RESTITUIT.

This was published incorrectly by Desanctis, Chaupy, and others until 1811, when Fea gave a correct copy (from one taken on the spot by Lorenzo Re) in his edition of Horace.

to everything which the poet has told us of his retreat, we may feel tolerably secure of our site.*

The hill which should be Lucretilis is called Campanile, and by following up the rivulet to the pretended Bandusia, you come to the roots of the higher mountain Gennaro. Singularly enough the only spot of ploughed land in the whole valley is on the knoll where this Bandusia rises,

> "....tu frigus amabile
> Fessis vomere tauris
> Præbes, et pecori vago."

The peasants show another spring near the mosaic pavement, which they call "Oradina," and which flows down the hills into a tank, or mill dam, and thence trickles over into the Digentia.

But we must not hope

> "To trace the Muses upwards to their spring,"

by exploring the windings of the romantic valley in search of the Bandusian fountain. It seems strange that any one should have thought Bandusia a fountain of the Digentia—Horace has not let drop a word of it; and this immortal spring has, in fact, been discovered in possession of the holders of many good things in Italy, the monks. It was attached to the church of St. Gervais and Protais, near Venusia, where it was most likely to be found.

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* The writer of the Letter on Horace's Villa, published in Dr. Milman's Horace, pronounces me to be mistaken in this matter; but he does not seem to be aware that the name Lucretilis is only a baptism, and a recent application of the old designation to the hill by the owner of the farm.

To be aware of this fact the traveller must lay aside all modern guide books and peruse a French work, called 'Discovery of the Country-house of Horace,' by Mr. Chaupy. This will undeceive him as to the Bandusian fountain, which he is not to look for in the Sabine valley, but on the Lucano-Appulian border, where Horace was born:

"—— Lucanus an Appulus anceps."

The vicissitude which placed a priest on the throne of the Cæsars has ordained that a bull of Pope Paschal the Second should be the decisive document in ascertaining the site of a fountain which inspired an ode of Horace.*

Professor Nibby,† in 1828, wrote an antiquarian journey to the Horatian Villa, to Subiaco, and to Trevi, near the

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* Confirmamus siquidem vobis Cœnobium ipsum et omnia, quæ ad illud pertinent, monasteria sive cellas cum suis pertinentiis: videlicet Ecclesiam S. Salvatoris cum aliis ecclesiis de Castello *Bandusii*. The bull is addressed to the Abbot *Monasterii Bantini* in *Apulia Acheruntin*, and enumerating the churches, goes on, *Ecclesiam* sanctorum martyrum Gervasii et Protasii *in Bandusino fonte apud Venusiam*. The date of the bull is May 22, 1103.—See *Bullarium Romanum*, Paschalis, P. P. secundus, num. xvii. tom. ii. p. 123, edit. Roma, 1739.

† Professor Nibby's honours were given in the title-page of this work on the Villa of Horace. They are as follows:—"Professore di Archæologia nell' Archiginnasio Romano; Membro del Collegio Filologico della stessa Università, e della Commissione Consultativa di Antichità e Belle Arti; Scrittore interprete di Lingua Greca nelle Biblioteca Vaticana; Censore e Socio dell' Academia Romana di Archæologia; Socio dell' Academia delle Belle Arti di S. Luca; dell' Academia reale Ercolanense di Napoli; delle Scienze di Monaco dell' Istituto reale di Francia."

sources of the Anio. In order to fix the site of the villa, he tells us that Cluverius found the Horatian Varia in Vico Varo, and Luca Holstenius, Vacuna in Bocca Giovane. This last discovery determined the site of the Horatian abode.* But notwithstanding this, and although Fabretti and others followed Holstenius, yet Kircher, Piazza, and Volpi were unconvinced until the Valerian tombstone settled for ever the disputed question.

This tombstone was found by the monks of S. Cosimato, in 1757, a mile from Vico Varo, on the Valerian Way, and was immediately converted into a coping-stone for the altar of the said monastery. Desanctis published it first in his 'Dissertation on the Villa of Horatius Flaccus,' in 1767; but he transcribed it incorrectly. Chaupy had it taken up, and gave an authentic copy of it in his 'Découverte de la Maison d'Horace,' of the same year. Nibby, however, did not think his explanation of it happy. This is the inscription:

VAL. MAXIMA. MATER
DOMNI . PREDIA . VAL .
DULCISSIMA . FILIA .
QUE VIXIT ANNIS XXX
VI . MEN . DXII IN PRE
DIIS SUIS . MASSA *man*
Deluna . SEPRETORUM
HERCULES . QUEQU . PACE.

The important word *Mandela* is clear enough. The other corrections are made without much difficulty or much

* See Adnot. in Cluver. p. 106.

use, except *Sepretorum*, which, says Nibby, is a proper name, or *nonsense*.

Having found Mandela, knowing that there was a place called "Licenza," in the ninth century, which was the same, doubtless, as Digentia, a river, or rather a village which *probably* stood on the banks of that stream, it was no great audacity in an antiquary to decide that any remains of an ancient villa in the neighbourhood of Mandela and Digentia must belong to the far-famed Sabine Farm. Accordingly, a tesselated pavement, of which the Professor gives a detailed account, was discovered in a chesnut grove, the property of one Orazio Onorati (a happy coincidence), about half a mile from the sources of the Digentia; and although, as Nibby confesses, "manchino documenti diretti per riconoscere questo pavimento come appurtenente alla villa Oraziana" (p. 37); yet considering the site thereof—considering also that certain reticulated ruins were discovered close at hand, but were destroyed by "a great barbarian of a surgeon," as Nibby calls him, one Valentino de' Angelis, of Licenza—considering the style of the pavement itself, simple and elegant as it is, just suitable to the Augustan age, there is no reason to think that this pavement might not have belonged to the favourite retreat, and have been trodden by the very feet of the great poet.

That the Sabine Villa was somewhere in this secluded region may be safely admitted; but I am quite at a loss to know on what authority Professor Nibby decides at once that Bandusia was a fountain of the Digentia. The

editors of Horace do, indeed, call it the Digentian fountain; but, I repeat, there is nothing in the famous Ode, nor in any other of his poems, which makes it certain that Horace meant to immortalize his Sabine rivulet, instead of the real Bandusia of his birthplace.

Unless the Bull of Pope Pasquale be a forgery, there can be no doubt where that fountain was to be found; and I am much pleased to see that Dr. Milman, in spite of the letter in his own beautiful Horace, adheres to the opinion of Chaupy.

CHAPTER XX.

NEMI—THE ALBAN LAKE AND TUNNEL.

NEMI, that is, the Arician grove, and the Alban hill, come within the tour commonly made by travellers; and a description, in the usual style, will be found in all the common guide-books. No one should omit to visit the two lakes. The tunnel, or emissary, cut nearly two miles through the mountain, from the Alban lake, is the most extraordinary memorial of Roman perseverance to be found in the world. An English miner would be at a loss to account for such a perforation made without shafts. It has served to carry off the redundant water from the time of the Veian war, 398 years before Christ, to this day, nor has received, nor is in want of, repairs.*

DISCOVERY OF ANCIENT TOMBS IN THE ALBAN HILL.

When the traveller has wandered amongst the ruins of villas and tombs, to all of which great names are

* All that Livy says of this great work, after mentioning that it had been prescribed by a Tuscan soothsayer and the oracle of Apollo, is, "Jam ex lacu Albano aqua emissa in agros."—Lib. v. cap. liv. It was completed in a year. It is 3½ feet wide, and 6 feet in height.

given,* he may examine the productions of a discovery which has been lately made, and which, if there be no deception, has brought to light a society possessed, apparently, of all the arts of ancient civilization, and existing *before the arrival of Æneas in Italy*—a society which was buried in the convulsion that changed the volcano of Albano into a lake.

Doctor Alexander Visconti has enabled us to judge of this prodigious discovery by publishing a memoir on the subject, and the reader may like to see the fact stated plainly, and divested of the solemn whimsical pedantry of the antiquary, and of the legal involution of the attached affidavits. It appears, then, that the Signor Carnevali, a gentleman of Albano, had found, in January, 1817, a considerable quantity of cinerary vases in turning up the ground for a plantation, near the road from Castel Gandolfo to Marino. On the 28th of the same month, one Signor Tomasetti, breaking up a continued mass of peperine which covers the declivity of the hill near the road to Marino, on the ground called Montecucco, when he came to the distance of 571 Roman canes from the spot where Signor Carnevali had discovered his vases, suddenly found several cinerary vases, all of them broken excepting one. These were *under* the layer of peperine.

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* Here you have Pompey's villa, Pompey's tomb, or, if that will not satisfy curiosity, the tomb of the Horatii and Curiatii; and, in another quarter, the tomb of Ascanius. Some, who are not content with tombs, call them villas. At the bottom of the hill the antiquaries know the very cavern where Milo killed Clodius.

The two gentlemen above mentioned resolved then to make farther excavations, and, in presence of several respectable witnesses, on the 4th of the following February, broke up another mass of the same *peperine*, which measured 159½ Roman canes in square surface. They cut downwards through about a palm and a half of common soil, and then lower, to the depth of two palms of peperine, and came to some white cretaceous earth, the layer of which they found to be a palm and a half deep. In this layer they found a terra cotta figured vase, broken in many pieces. The vase was seen in its bed by all the witnesses previously to being taken up. Other similar fragments were discovered as the labour continued, and it was observed that the mass of peperine became much thicker and covered the surface to the depth of four palms. Pieces of a conduit-pipe of some size were also found, and that not in mass, but separated from one another. The fragments of vases produced from this excavation were not of sufficient size to furnish any conjecture as to the form of the vessels; but from the bottom of one, more entire than the rest, they were thought to have had the shape of a *pila*, or water-cistern.

It should be told that, at different periods, four and three years before, other fragments of vases had been found *under* the *peperine;* and that under the *same* mass of peperine certain stone-cutters had found pieces of iron, appearing to them to be nails. Of these discoveries affidavits were made a little after the period of the present excavation, in March. The Signor Carnevali tells his

visitors of a metal mirror also found in the same position; but the affidavits make no mention of it.

The whole of the *fragments* found on the 4th of February were carefully collected, and the next day, in presence of the former witnesses and a notary public, were examined and compared with the *entire* vases found in January by the Signor Carnevali. The consequence of this comparison was a solemn judgment that the *fragments* and the entire vases were of the same composition and materials.

This identity being established, the same value was, of course, attached to the vases of the Signor Carnevali, which had been found *not* under the peperine, as to that of Signor Tomasetti, and to the fragments discovered on the 4th of February, *under* the rock. As, therefore, the Tomasetti vase and the fragments were in *themselves* in nowise curious, the antiquaries proceeded to the examination of the Carnevali vases with the same satisfaction as if they had been found *under* the rock with the others.

The Doctor Visconti addressed the above letter to his *friend*, Signor Carnevali, in April; and the memoir, having been read in the Archæological Society at Rome, was shortly after published, together with the affidavits before alluded to. This memoir discusses the contents found in the Carnevali vases, which are, indeed, so curious, that it was thought worth while to give a drawing of them, which, after personal examination, I can aver to be very correct.

The whole memoir goes to prove that the vases and

the nails, and all the Alban fragments, belong to a state of society existing in this mountain before the volcano of Albano was extinguished,—that is, at some unknown period before Ascanius founded Alba Longa, in the year 1176 before the Christian æra.

It is premised that the peperine under which the Tomasetti vase, and (by inference) all the vases, were laid, was originally a volcanic substance thrown up at the great convulsion, and gradually formed into stone. These burials, then, did not take place after, but before, the present surface was formed; therefore they belong to a people who lived at Alba before the lake was formed and the crater became extinct: these people Visconti calls Aborigines. With this foundation the Roman antiquary endeavours to show that the burials may have belonged to a people even of the extreme antiquity requisite for such a supposition.

For the burnt bones are no objection: burning the dead was practised by the very ancient Greeks, by the very ancient Trojans, by the very ancient Thebans, by the very ancient Romans, and the very ancient Gauls; also by the modern Indians.

The vessels of earth are no objection, for the tomb of Belus contained a vase of glass, therefore clay must be much more ancient; besides which, Numa had a college of potters; and, in the time of Julius Cæsar, the colonists at Capua discovered some very old monumental *vascula* of pottery, with some inscribed brass tablets, saying they belonged to the tomb of Capys; add to this, these very

ancient pottery works were of a dark colour, as are the Carnevali vases, as if tinged with the oxid of iron, and their composition differs from the common clay by the addition of a certain quantity of volcanic sand, and, according to a chemical analysis, they are thus combined in every 100 parts:—

Siliceous earth	63½
Aluminous do.	21½
Carbonate of lime	4½
Water	10½
	100

The different contents of the deposit are no objection, for the large outward jar, the cinerary urn, the ointment vase, and the metal ornaments within the cinerary vase, the *calefactorium*, the perfume vase, the vase called *guttus*, the five other vases, perhaps for wine, and milk, and honey, the bowl, and the three platters, may be all shown to be of most ancient usage. The same may be said of the funereal lamp of rough workmanship, and more especially of a little rude idol which seems to be one of the *oscillæ*, a sacrifice to *Dis*, in place of the human victim, and of that sort which Rachel stole from her father. "*Erat Laban ad tondendas oves, et Rachel furata est idola patris sui.*"

As for the bronze utensils, they are also of the highest antiquity, for brass was the first metal employed; the fibula may have pinned the amianthus or other cloth in which the ashes were wrapped, a conjecture more probable from its being made without

soldering: the elegance of the workmanship does not surpass that of the coin of Servius Tullius. Tubal Cain was a worker in all works of brass and iron. The small wheel, the little lance-head, the two hooks, the stylus, were part of the sepulchral *munera* buried with the dead; the spoked wheel was as old as the time of Homer; the stylus also, having the obliterating part moveable, differs from the usual form, and, *therefore*, is of great antiquity; styli were used at Rome in the time of Porsenna.

So far the Roman antiquary. It is now our turn to make a few remarks. In the first place, then, it should be told that, in the month of May following the discovery, the ground whence the interments were extracted was covered up, and shown to no one even upon inquiry. An English naturalist who visited the spot was unable to discover the precise excavation; and it was the opinion of the same gentleman that the stone called peperine was, in fact, a tufo gradually formed by the sand and water crumbling down the declivity from the summit of the hill, and not a volcanic formation, of which he discerned no signs. According to this supposition, there is no necessity for having recourse to the extreme antiquity assumed by the Doctor Visconti.

In the second place, although there was only one entire vase actually found under the rock, and that vase was of much more simple workmanship, and con-

tained none of the curious implements of the others, the Signor Carnevali, in showing his museum, makes no distinction between the two discoveries, but, on the contrary, endeavours, both by his silence, and, when he is pushed, by his assertions, to confound the two, assuming that his whole museum is of equal antiquity with the said Tomasetti vase.

This remark becomes more important, although more invidious, when it is told that the articles of the museum are *for sale*, the price of a complete interment being fifty louis d'or. This incomprehensible dispersion of such treasures does not quite agree with the following flattering conclusion with which Visconti perorates.

"DEAR FRIEND,

"These monuments are come into your house,—

'Data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris:'

it seems to me that the most venerable antiquities strive to get into your hands, for a few days since you have acquired that very ancient *æs grave*, never yet published, weighing four pounds and a half, with an anchor on one side and a tripod on the reverse: perchance it is the destiny of tripods to fall into the hands of the best of men. I recommend to you these *innocent utensils** that have lasted for so many years, more

* "Vi raccomando questi innocenti stoviglie."—*Lettera*, &c., p. 29.

precious than gold and than silver, since they were made in times when, according to Pliny, gold and silver were worked not for men, nor even for the gods themselves. Take care that they are not broken nor lost, but pass down from age to age like the stars. What a number of fine things you have—and you may yet possess!! but your heart is refulgent above all; and if your modesty did not snatch the pen from my hand, how much I should write on that topic! I wait then for your other agreeable commands, that I may show you by deeds that I am," &c.

The owner may think he follows his friend's advice by retaining one or two of the best specimens.

Thirdly, the museum contains a great variety of articles, all of them *inferred* to have been laid under the rock, but for which circumstance there is no guarantee, even in the affidavits attached to the memoir; the bronze implements, in great number and of every shape, are of as elegant and elaborate workmanship as is to be found in the specimens which are seen in the other museums of Europe, and which confessedly belong to a much later age than that assumed by Visconti. These bronze implements are frequently discovered in Italy and Greece, and certainly do not agree with the pottery of the large jar, or of the cinerary vase, which is of a form much more rude than suits with their shape and make. They do, however, agree well enough with the lamps and lacrymatories, which are entirely of the

kind discovered every day in Greek and Roman burials. It is possible then, and, all things considered, probable, that the interments have been completed and adjusted since the discovery, and that part of the pottery may belong to one period, and the implements and the other part of the pottery to another. The styli are in great variety, and belonged to a people whose alphabet was less rude than the pretended letters on the vases—one of the fibulæ has not altogether lost the spring. It must not be deemed too uncharitable to hesitate before we believe that all the articles were found in the Alban vases.

In the fourth place: the larger pottery is neither Roman nor Tuscan. It is not altogether unlike that found in other places, and supposed to be the work of the early inhabitants, whom it is usual to call Indigenes.

The most learned Roman writers, Porcius Cato, Caius Sempronius, and others, were of opinion that the Aborigines, or, as others called them, the Aberrigines, were Greeks from Achaia, who had migrated to Italy many years before the Trojan war; and Dionysius says that, in that case, they were Arcadians who accompanied Œnotrus and Peucetius seventeen generations before the Trojan war,* some of whom settled in Umbria,† and sent out colonies to the Corniculan or Tiburtine mountains.‡ These Aborigines were joined by the Pelasgi,

* Lib. i. cap. vi. † Ibid. cap. xiii. ‡ Ibid. cap. xvi.

colonists originally from Argos,* and the two nations, about three generations before the Trojan war, were in possession of all the country from the Tiber to the Liris;† but the Pelasgi were extinct at the end of that war,‡ or were mingled with the Aborigines. § According to this account, we have Greeks settled for ages in these hills before the coming of Æneas to Italy; but that these Greeks were little better than barbarians we may collect from the same authority, which tells us that the Arcadians under Evander, who settled on the Palatine hill about sixty years before the Trojan war, ‖ were the *first* that introduced the Greek letters, Greek music, and Greek manners into Italy.¶ Besides these Greek Aborigines, Dionysius seems to talk of certain indigenal natives, who assisted them and the Trojans in founding Alba Longa. But who those Indigenes were, except they were Tuscans, whom he inclines to believe natives of Italy,** does not appear from his account.

Whoever were the makers of the bronze implements and some of the lesser vases, they must be supposed in a state of civilization superior to that which Evander improved by the introduction of Greek arts and letters, and which must have belonged to the people living there before the mountain assumed its present shape.

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* Lib. i. cap. xvii. xviii. xx.
† Ibid. cap. ix.
‡ Ibid. cap. xxiv.
§ Ibid. cap. xxx.
‖ Ibid. cap. xxxi.
¶ Ibid. cap. xxxiii.
** Ibid. cap. xxix.

The pottery is sufficiently rude for that age, but, unless all the articles were found together and in the pretended position, nothing can be argued with safety from any of the phenomena. Visconti has gained nothing by showing the remote antiquity of similar manufactures. No one doubted that fact, but the question evidently reduces itself to the assigning *these individual* interments to a time and nation to which they may be reasonably referred. The inquiry undoubtedly is, supposing the whole discovery to be established, and that nothing has been interpolated, what people ever lived on the Alban hill at any period who might have made these vases?

After my return to England in 1818 I was favoured by an English antiquary* with a suggestion which is certainly more ingenious, and it may be thought more satisfactory, than the researches of Visconti. That which puzzled the Italian most has furnished the Englishman with the clue of his conjecture; for those figures which Visconti thinks may be letters, or, perhaps, whole words, like the Chinese characters, have induced him to come to a very different conclusion.

The similarity between the Runic "hammer crosses" and the marks on the vases of Alba Longa is so great that one might be tempted to maintain their identity, and there is, perhaps, some connexion between both

* Sir Francis Palgrave.

and the *crux ansata* of the Egyptian monuments. It is certain that the mythology of the Asi, although its doctrines may have been clad in another guise, was not confined to the Scandinavian race. And it seems that a character bearing a close affinity to the Runic alphabet was once widely diffused throughout ancient Europe. The national enthusiasm of the northern antiquarians has too often outstripped their judgment, and many of the fanciful analogies of such really excellent authors as Perugakioled and Rudbuck must, unfortunately, be reckoned amongst the dreams of the learned; yet the truths which they have discovered may be easily separated from their delusions. Perhaps a Celtic origin may be ascribed to the tomb. Of the Celtic Taranus we know little; yet there are Roman inscriptions which show that he was worshipped as the Roman Jupiter. And it cannot be denied but that the deity whom the Romans knew as Jupiter was the thunderer of the Northmen. If the superincumbent body of peperino is to be considered as a proof of the remote antiquity of the tomb, it must be referred to the Celtic aborigines of Italy; but if the bed can be considered as a formation of comparatively recent date, then the vase may contain the ashes of some Gaulish chieftain or of a heathen Goth or Lombard.

A character resembling the hammer of Thor is seen in inscriptions discovered in Spain, and which resemble the legends of the medals which the Spaniards call the

"medallas desconocidas." The same character also lurks in many magical books, though under other combinations. It may be considered as a wild speculation to discover the traces of ancient mythology in a schoolboy's scrawl; but a remarkable instance can be given of the strange stubborn vitality of these vestiges of the superstitions of the elder day. We often see English shepherds cutting the pentalpha in the turf, although they never heard of Antiochus or saw his coin, and although they are ignorant of its mystic power.

Sir William Jones, with his usual taste and research, has drawn a parallel between the deities of Meru and Olympus: and an enthusiast might, perhaps, maintain that the vases of Alba Longa were a relic of the times when one religion prevailed in Latium and Hindûstan. It is most singular that the Hindû cross is precisely the hammer of Thor.

It may finally be observed, that, supposing the state of remote society to have existed which the Italian antiquary assigns to the hill, and supposing these relics to have been suddenly overwhelmed by the volcano in those unknown ages, some other vestiges besides sepulchral deposits would have been found to attest the same industry and skill in the arts which are manifested in these specimens.

Notwithstanding, however, these difficulties and a

division of opinion even amongst the Romans, the discovery of the Alban vases has been considered of much importance, and has transported the antiquaries into ages and amongst nations where, having no guide to lead, and no witnesses to contradict them, they may form leisurely a world of their own.*

VATICAN.

This stupendous collection adds daily to its treasures, and there are many marbles for which no place has yet been found. The Borgian apartments have received many new and several well-known specimens of ancient art. The frescoes which I saw on the walls of the Villa of Munatia Procula, when first discovered in 1822, have found their way to this chamber. The five heroines are painted at full length, and, having no feature or symbol to distinguish them, except the bull of Pasiphäe, the artist has taken care to add their names—a common contrivance on the pictures of vases, but not so frequent in frescoes. The companions of Pasiphäe are Scylla, Myrrha, Canace, and Phædra. Such ladies might, as the elder Madame de Staël said of herself, have been well contented with a bust: how they came to be favourites with

* The conjecture that the vases might be Gothic, of the time of Totila, was afterwards adopted by Professor Nibby in his 'Viaggio Antiquario.'

Munatia Procula it is difficult even to conjecture. They would have been no very inappropriate ornaments of the apartments where they are now found, when occupied by the Borgian family; but the prudent Pinturicchio took care to employ his pencil on other subjects—for the fresco next to the Ascension of our Saviour represents Alexander VI. himself playing a conspicuous part at the general resurrection. It must have been particularly edifying to the holy father and his daughter Lucretia to have "stared devoutly" on these painted ceilings, particularly on a composition which is thus described in the guide-books: "S. Barbara che si toglie dalle insidie del padre."

In the same apartment are now to be seen the famous "Nozze Aldobrandini," until lately the property of a private gentleman. The learned, after much wrangling, seem to resolve that this is the bridal of Peleus and Thetis; but this is only a guess. That the costume is not Roman is quite clear; yet there have been connoisseurs who resorted to the epithalamiums of Catullus and of Statius for the origin of this picture. The friezes from the Forum of Trajan, exhibited in these apartments, show a specimen of workmanship as delicate and highly finished as the intaglio of a cabinet: yet they were viewed at a height of fifty feet, perhaps, from the ground. The Boxers in relief were found in the same forum; so also was the large portrait of Trajan, also in relief, which has been restored by Thorwaldsen.

CORRIDOR OF BRAMANTE.

The Corridor of Bramante may be said to contain the largest collection of sepulchral inscriptions in the world. Though the great mass of them are filled with unheard-of names, yet there is something interesting in feeling ourselves at once, as it were, in the midst of long-past generations, speaking to us by records more certain and more affecting than any history, however eloquent. This is the charm of Pompej and Herculaneum.

Here, as in the Villa Albani and elsewhere, I remark that the *elder* ancients did not usually vary their expressions of regret or admiration, nor give scope to their feelings upon the tombstones of their friends, in the style of modern epitaphs. The wives are generally "dearest" and "sweetest," the husbands "well deserving;" the patron or powerful friend is, for the most part, "the best" of his kind; but the higher the quality, the shorter and simpler the praise. The flowers of poetry are generally reserved for respectable concubines or faithful fellow-freedmen. Nothing can be shorter or plainer than the inscriptions which tell on what spot the Lords of the Roman World were reduced to ashes:—

TI. CAESAR
GERMANICI CAESARIS F
HIC CREMATUS EST.

TI. CAESAR .
DRUSI CAESARIS F
HIC SITUS EST

C. CAESAR .
GERMANICI CAESARIS F
HIC CREMATUS EST.

LIVILLA
GERMANICI F.*

In the degeneracy of the arts the humblest and easiest accomplishment seems to have been as unattainable as the highest effort of art; and the date of a tomb or a milestone may be guessed as much by the form of the letters, as that of the frieze of a temple, or the face of a statue, by the style and finish of the sculpture: yet mere imitation might have produced a broad, well-defined, deeply-cut, straight, or curved line. No more was wanted.

In ranging over the vast never-ending galleries and superb saloons, studded as they are with innumerable columns, statues, busts, reliefs, mosaics, and other specimens of art, of every imaginable shape and kind, the stranger may easily imagine himself in some old imperial residence, amidst the fresh unmutilated masterpieces of antiquity; but could these wonderful works be suddenly reduced to the state in which they were first discovered, he would be still more surprised at the ingenuity and hardihood which, from headless trunks, fractured limbs, disfigured busts, and fragments of drapery, have composed an august assemblage and a tolerably complete series of

* These are on stones which serve as pedestals to statues in the statue gallery, near the Ariadne, found, I believe, in the mausoleum of Augustus.

the deities of Olympus, the sages and orators of Greece, and the masters of the Roman world. Very few of these were found as we now see them. The half-naked statue of Augustus in the "Sala a Croce Greca" is pointed out as a great curiosity, because discovered with his head on his shoulders. The old Romans, artists as well as emperors, not unfrequently fitted a new face on a beheaded statue. In some cases the bodies and busts were so contrived as to fit any head; and the moderns have made a thousand arbitrary restorations, which, though they add to the first effect, diminish that permanent satisfaction which is derived only from a conviction of authenticity. Before Winkelmann wrote, the first name that suggested itself was the first name applied; the artist added the appropriate symbols; a medal or a previous specimen furnished any deficient feature; the baptism was seldom controverted, and the succeeding age forgot the imposture. Even Winkelmann himself was comparatively uninformed, or over-credulous, or too presumptuous, and his merits have been eclipsed by the superior skill of Visconti. Since his time restorers have been more cautious, and antiquarians more sceptical. Some of the gross misnomers have disappeared from the common guide-books. Ariadne is no longer Cleopatra, though the verses of Castiglione still remain to perpetuate the error; nor is the Mercury now called Antinous: but the critic who rejects one mistake very often hazards an equally unfounded conjecture; and the fine statue in the "Braccio Nuovo," which is now found out not to be a real young

Esculapius, is therefore to be something still more interesting, namely, a portrait *perhaps*, says Nibby (735), of Antonius Musa, the physician of Augustus. There is another Mercury in the Braccio Nuovo, which once had the head of Hadrian; but his own head being found in the Coliseum, that of the emperor was taken off, the authentic bust replaced, and a new caduceus put into his hand to prevent future mistakes.

BRACCIO NUOVO.

The Braccio Nuovo, perhaps the noblest gallery in the world, from its fresh and glossy splendour looks like the work of yesterday. Yet all the mosaics, the friezes, cornices, floorings, columns—in short, all the architectural decorations of this splendid saloon—are antiquities, or fragments of marbles, the ornaments of ancient Rome. With the exception of the Three Graces, whom the piety of Leo XII. banished to the secluded society of the Nymph and Faun,* the collection remains in the same state as it was left by Pius VII.

No authorised catalogue has hitherto (in 1828) been published of the stupendous collections of the Vatican, probably because the patent or privilege of making

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* "When a magnificent collection of engravings representing the works of Canova had been prepared, he purchased all the plates, at an enormous cost, I believe at Florence, that he might suppress and destroy such as were not consistent with delicacy of morals," says Cardinal Wiseman, speaking of Leo XII.—*Four Popes*, p. 205.

one has been granted to a person who was not able or willing to attempt such a necessary labour; but it is said that such a work is now in progress. In all other respects there is a magnificent liberality and good taste in the arrangements connected with the exhibition, quite worthy of those who have had the good fortune to possess such invaluable treasures.

On the public days (Monday and Thursday) there are but few guards; but these few are sufficient to watch the conduct of the spectators, many of whom are of the lowest classes of mountain peasants, and who, notwithstanding all that has been said of their Italian taste, certainly manifest no admiration for the remains of ancient art. The divinities of the Belvedere protect themselves. There is nothing to save the Apollo or the Mercury from the wantonness of a child or the frenzy of a madman; yet not a pin-scratch is to be seen on all their polished surface. They have not been injured by their double journey across the Alps, neither can it be said that the whole collection has lost by the Bonaparte family: indeed, it has gained; for the Giustiniani Minerva and the Antonia, found at Tusculum, passed from Lucien to the new gallery of Pius VII.

It may seem wonderful that even Rome itself should supply such an assortment. The detail of the mosaics alone would fill a volume; so would that of the sarcophagi. Another might be devoted to the bathing vases—another to the columns—another to the candelabras. Yet these and many other exquisite specimens of ancient

luxury are but the furniture for the glorious receptacle of the real masterpieces.

Every gallery—every collection, public or private—almost every excavation within ten miles of Rome—have contributed something to complete this work to wonder at. The Villa of Cassius, at Tivoli, furnished eight of the Muses; but Urania was wanting. She was found at Velletri, and soon joined her sisters in the octagonal saloon. The same Tiburtine Villa provided a Pericles; and soon after, at another spot, Aspasia reappeared. These illustrious Athenians are now face to face amidst the other worthies of Greece.

The delight of roaming through these galleries cannot be described or communicated. It may be necessary to be a connoisseur, or an antiquary, to feel the full influence of the genius of the place; but a general acquaintance with ancient history, and that common perception of the sublime and admirable which falls to the lot of a majority of those who have received a liberal education, are sufficient for a visit to the Vatican. The variety, and number, and splendour, and value of the objects, neither dazzle, nor fatigue, nor confound the spectator. He has space, and he may find time, for the contemplation of all the principal masterpieces. But it will be advisable not to take advantage of the new arrangement which drops him through a single doorway from the ancient to the modern world, and shifts the scene of enchantment at once from the age of the Cæsars to the golden days of Papal Rome. The miracles of the picture gallery—the great frescoes of

the CAMERE and of the Sistine Chapel—the arabesques of the Loggie—should be viewed apart from the sculptures: yet it is the fashion to walk the round of all these wonders, and to climb to the Titians, and Raphaels, and Domenichinos above, on the same day, because they are to be seen in the eleven hundred rooms of the same palace.

The master and tenant of the Vatican has fitted up a villa, about six miles from Rome, in a style which shows that a daily contemplation of the noblest productions of human genius does not necessarily beget a sensible taste in the lower departments of art. In this retreat his Holiness beholds his own work—a little wood, and a little pond, and a little boat upon it, besides *two* deer and a couple or two of tame rabbits, and some tame ducks on the water. The entrance to this paradise is through a green gate, adorned by a pair of enormous knockers, in the last London fashion.

The above cursory remarks were made in 1828, whilst Leo XII. was still on the throne: he died in 1829. His successor, Pius VIII., reigned too short a time to make any additions to the Vatican galleries; but Gregory XVI. was a considerable contributor to them. He placed the Etruscan collection in a suite of ample halls, formerly the apartments of the Cardinal Librarian;* he put together the Romano-Egyptian gallery, and added the

* Wiseman, Four Popes, p. 441 et seq.

Appartamento Borgia, a series of ten noble halls, at the end next to the palace in the Belvedere Court; he placed the Byzantine pictures in the Christian Museum; he continued the useful work of covering the Loggie with glass, and restored the frescoes of the upper corridor, by the help of Professor Agricola. Gregory founded the Lateran Museum, which Pius IX. has much enriched. The Antinous and Sophocles were acquisitions of his reign. All these acquisitions may fairly be attributed to Gregory XVI., and when I was in Rome in 1842-3 he was engaged in similar duties, and the Vatican, as heretofore, was accessible at reasonable hours. Not so in 1853-4. I then found many troublesome restrictions; and, more than once, when visiting the apartments, even on public days, was obliged to leave them at an unusual hour, because his Holiness chose to walk in them.

The French garrison contributed much to the security of his Holiness in the streets of Rome; but the sight of the patrols and sentries could not add to the pleasures of a promenade, and I can easily understand why Pius preferred his own endless galleries to a public street or suburban road. Nevertheless, the well-known liberality of former pontiffs, and of Pius himself in former times, made recent regulations, both at the Vatican and Capitol, more annoying to strangers.

VILLA ALBANI.

The Abate Gaetano Marini published the Inscriptions and an enumeration of the marbles, with a concise

description annexed to each. Vincenzo Poggidi also published the Inscriptions. The catalogue was reprinted in 1803, and after the plunder of the French the number of statues, busts, hermes, reliefs, mosaics, urns, and sculptured marbles of every description, including recent acquisitions, amounts to six hundred and twenty-four, the number of inscriptions to a hundred and five. Some of the stolen treasures, and amongst them the superb Antinous, had been recovered; but what must the whole collection have been when Winkelmann arranged and illustrated this great repository of ancient art? In the apartment called the Coffee-house they have supplied the place of the cameos with imitations in paste.

Hadrian's Tiburtine Villa furnished the greater part of the collection. A whole apartment in the Capitoline Museum, and very many niches in the Vatican, have been filled from the same vast assemblage of imperial rarities. The sculptor and the architect and the antiquary owe more to Hadrian and to Nero than to any other emperor. The busts of Trajan seem to have been multiplied during the reign of his grateful successor; several of them were found in his Tiburtine villa. The best of Roman princes had a countenance displaying more benevolence than dignity. The lower does not correspond, either in size or expression, with the upper portion of the face.

Some of the Albani portraits are, I presume, apocryphal. The naked Brutus, with the iron dagger, is a strange figure; there is something mean and insignifi-

cant in the mouth and chin of the busts that pass for this patriot.

In looking at the inscriptions, sepulchral and dedicatory, of this collection, I was pleased to observe that the eulogies were concise. Even Marcus Aurelius is only "the best and most indulgent prince." "OPTIMO Civi, ob merita" is all the praise given to a Questor, an Edile, and Curator of the Public Works, Licinius Herodes. The superlatives, such as pientissimo, piissimo, sanctissimo, rarissimo, dulcissimo, carissimo, are sometimes employed, but one of these generally serves for each of the dead. I saw no affected addresses to survivors; a simple prayer to the passing traveller I did see:—

Domnadius Possessor
Colonus sequens
Et te, Viator, præcor,
Parce tumulo Narcissi.

Nor are there many moral reflections in these epitaphs; I remarked but one:—

Primæ
Pompeiæ
Ossua heic.
Fortuna spondet multa
Multis, præstat nemini, vive indies
Et horas, nam proprium est nihil.
Salvus et Heros dant.

I remarked only one epitaph in verse, to Terentia Asiatica Alunna. The affectation of using Greek letters is observable here and there:—

Δ M
TITIAI ΕΛΠΙΔΙ ΜΑΡ
ΚΟΥC. TITIOYC. ZHNO
ΒΙΟΥC ΚΟΝΙΟΥΓΙ ΒΕΝΕ
ΜΕΡΕΝΤΙ . ΦΗΚΙΤ.

The famous stucco reliefs, representing the Labours of Hercules, afford an excellent specimen of what may be done by the labours of an antiquary. Let any one try to decipher a line or two of the writing, and he will be able to appreciate the merit of Corsini, who has given a version of the whole inscription on the pilasters.

The Casino of the Villa Albani possesses attractions superior to those of any of the suburban palaces of Rome. Those who are indifferent to the treasures within may still enjoy the glorious prospect to be seen from the gardens. The view from the terrace surpasses, perhaps, that from the opposite extremity of the great city, inasmuch as there is greater variety and grandeur of scenery in the Tiburtine than in the Alban hills. After being hurried through the galleries by the weary guardian of marble gods and heroes and emperors, who tells his tale with fretful impatience, you are allowed to linger in the gardens and gaze at your leisure on scenes which, even if history and fable had not attached an eternal interest to every sunny peak and dark chasm of the mountain-landscape before you, would reward you for a journey of a thousand miles—

"Enjoy them you—Villario can no more."

The Cardinal Albani, in 1828, when this trivial sketch of his villa was made, was legate at Bologna, and never

visited his Roman paradise. At my next visit, in 1843, he was dead, and it was not to be seen without a written order.

THE VILLA BORGHESE.

The greater part of the antiques of this famous villa, amounting to 155, were sold to Napoleon in 1808. The family claimed them in 1814, but Louis XVIII. refused to restore them, as having been lawfully purchased.* Some, however, of the marbles remained; the gardens continued to be embellished; magnificent entrance gates were constructed; and the villa was crowded with visitors of every class and description. But in 1849 the republican forces encamped there, and in 1854 I found the principal entrance closed, many of the trees cut down, and the gardens allowed to be seen only once a week.

* Wiseman's 'Four Popes.'

CHAPTER XXI.

RIENZI.—THE ROMANS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

FOR the character and exploits of Rienzi the reader may be referred to the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.'* Those who have given us a portrait of the Romans of the dark ages have represented them as uniting in their persons all the vices that can degrade the human character; but, in spite of the invectives of Luitprand†

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* Cap. xlix. lxix. lxx.

† Luitprand was told, at the court of Nicephorus Phocas, that he was not a Roman, although he came from the pretended Roman Emperors, the Othos and Adelheid, but only a Lombard. It was on that occasion that the bishop of Cremona became violent, and attacked the Romans with that sentence which is extracted into the Decline and Fall, cap. xlix. note 44. If, however, the reader will consult the original, *Liutprandi legatio ad Nicephorum Phocam*, ap. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. p. 479 to 489, he will see that the insolence of the Greek Emperor, who said the Lombards were too big-bellied to fight, accusing them of "*gastrimargia*," was the cause of the ambassador's abuse, which was directed, perhaps, rather more against the Byzantines, who had exclusively assumed the name of Romans, than against the inhabitants of Rome. Liutprand, indeed, shows he did not allude to the Roman citizens of his day *particularly*, though he does talk of their subjection to harlots, the Theodoras and Marozia, for he begins his attack with Romulus. "Romulum fratricidam, ex quo et Romani dicti sunt, porniogenitum, hoc est ex adulterio natum chronographia innotuit."—Ibid. p. 481. Nice-

and Saint Bernard,* those vices, with the exception of such as they shared with their barbarous contemporaries, seem reducible to their ancient reproach, that they could not bear complete servitude nor perfect freedom.† The barbarian blood which had been transfused into their veins was likely to irritate rather than allay this impatience of control; and conceptions of original equality, to which the enslaved subjects of the Cæsars had long been strangers, might be imported by their union with the savages of the north. The ambassador of a despot and a saint might easily be disgusted with the thousand horrid forms which this tormenting feeling would assume, and which would betray itself in violence or perfidy, in arrogance or meanness, in proportion as they were able to shake away, or obliged to submit to, the yoke. Their conduct, from the first assumption of temporal power by the Popes, must seem absurd and contradictory, if it be not regarded as the consequence of a resolution to submit to no resident

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phorus mounted the throne in 963, and, to believe Luitprand and S. Bernard strictly, we should think that the Romans continued to be the same abandoned race for two centuries; if so, the Saxon Emperors had not improved them. Luitprand, it is true, might fairly say that the descendants of Romulus had forfeited their title of lords of the world, *kosmocratores*.

* Decline and Fall, cap. lxix. p. 270, vol. xii. oct. edit. See also Muratori, Annali, ad an. 1152, tom. vi. p. 499.

† "Sed imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt nec totam libertatem." The Emperor Galba said this to Piso.—Tacit., *Hist.*, lib. i. cap. xvi.

master whose *foreign* authority might enable him to employ a *foreign* force for their enslavement. The objection applied both to popes and emperors; and their history, if a few broken notices may be so called, is a perpetual struggle against both, sometimes united and sometimes separated by a temporary alliance with the people themselves, formed for the same purpose of final enfranchisement.

We must not feel indignant at their ill-directed efforts because they did not terminate in the independence obtained by the states of Tuscany and Lombardy. Their city had the misfortune of being the metropolis of Christianity, in which it was for the interest of the sovereigns of Europe that a priest should reign; and, secondly, their too glorious name and the pride of their Pontiffs had tempted the ambition of every conqueror with a crown which could be conferred nowhere but on the banks of the Tiber. Thus they had to contend with pretenders who could never die, and who failed not to unite their efforts when the Romans thought themselves strong enough to aspire to an independence of both.

It was the endeavour of the people and nobles to deprive Leo III. of all temporal power that made him apply to Charlemagne, and merge both the republic and the patricianate in the imperial title of the Frank.*

John XII. invited Otho the Great to Rome, in 962, under pretext of assistance against Berenger and Adal-

* See Annali d' Italia, ad an. 799, tom. iv. p. 431, 432.

bert, and restored the Western Empire, which had been vacant since the death of Berenger Augustus,* in 924.

It was to assist Gregory V. that Otho III. marched to Rome;† and the protection of Benedict VIII. brought down ‡ Henry II. in 1014.

The league between Adrian IV. and Frederic Barbarossa cost Arnold of Brescia his life, as the price of the Emperor's coronation.§

As then the imperial and papal interests combined against the spirit of revolt, and called in succession Charlemagne, the Othos, the Henries, and the first of the Frederics, to Rome, so the annalists of either party have joined in the censure of every independent leader. The patrician Alberic, the son of Marozia, is handed down to us as a tyrant,‖ yet he held the dominion of Rome for two-and-twenty years, successfully resisted the repeated sieges of the capital, and peaceably transmitted his authority to his son, a youth of seventeen years of age. The Consul, or rather the *Cæsar*, Crescentius,¶

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* Annali ad an. 961, tom. v. p. 961, 399.

† Ibid. ad an. 996, tom. v. p. 504.

‡ Annali, tom. vi. p. 46.

§ Annali ad an. 1155, tom. vi. p. 516.

‖ "Terminò in quest' anno il corso di sua vita Alberico Patrizio o Principe o vogliam dire Tiranno di Romana."—Annali ad an. 954, tom. v. p. 384.

¶ Gibbon, cap. xlix., calls him the Brutus of the Republic, but, in fact, he affected the empire. The Marquis Maffei's gallery contained a medal with IMP. CÆS. AUGUST. P P CRESENTIUS, on one side, round the head of the prince, and on the reverse a man on

is, in the same manner, declared "a bad man, a man blinded by ambition," whose just punishment "served to deter those who knew not how to obey Pope or Emperor." * If Muratori says this, what is to be expected from Baronius? Yet the Emperor Otho III., who murdered Crescentius, undertook a barefoot pilgrimage to Mount Garganus to expiate his treachery.† The Guelf and Ghibeline writers are alike unmerciful to popular leaders. The antipopes of the people are *Volponi* with Muratori: those of the Emperors sometimes a little anti-canonical, but often legitimate; there is no depth deep enough for either in the Ecclesiastical Annals.

Arnold of Brescia ‡ is also delivered over to posterity as an heresiarch whose rebellious doctrines justly con-

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horseback haranguing soldiers, with the legend *exercitus* S. C. below; and on the base S. P. Q. R., similar to the allocutions on horseback of Hadrian, Posthumus, and others. The arts appear to have been still preserved even in those ages, if we may judge from this medal.—*Verona Illustrata*, par. iii. p. 500, edit. 1732. Crescentius was put to death in May 998, and hanged with twelve others round the bastion St. Angelo.

* "Un mal' uomo, un uomo acciecato dall' ambizione, convien dire che fosse Crescenzio Console di Roma."—Annali, &c., tom. v. p. 504.

"Il che servi ad atterrir chiunque non sapeva allora ubbidire nè al Papa nè all' Imperatore."—Ibid. p. 510.

† Annali ad an. 1001, tom. vi. p. 1, 2.

‡ "Porro circiter annum Christi MCXLII. Romanus Populus ab Arnaldi Brixiani heresiarchæ verbis seductus, rebellionem contra Petri successores justos urbis dominos primum instituit, rempublicam nempe atque Senatum prout antiquis temporibus fuerant restituere ausus."—*Antiq. Med. Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 559.

demned him to the flames of both worlds.* These doctrines, however, were not dispersed with his scattered ashes, but were concentrated in that Capitol and by that Senate which he restored; and however the ignorance of the age may have misapplied his institutions, they served to retard for three centuries the confirmed establishment of religious despotism. The Romans were the last of all the people of Christendom who submitted to the Pope. The feudal wars of the city belonged to the times, and are not to be charged to the democratical spirit, but to the impotence of the laws.

Rienzi had the fortune to fall on better days and better tongues. With Petrarch for a poet,† and a fellow-citizen, rude, but a witness of his exploits, for a biographer,‡ his merits have been fairly balanced with his

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* "Messo costui (Arnold) nelle forze del Prefetto di Roma fu impiccato e bruciato e le sue ceneri sparse nel Tevere, acciochè la stolida plebe non venerasse il corpo di questo infame."—Muratori, Annal. ad an. 1155, tom. vi. p. 516.

† Petr. epistola hortatoria de capessenda libertate. Opp. p. 535, 540, and the 5th eclogue. Vir magnanime, vir fortissime, Junior Brute, are the titles he gives Rienzi. De Sade was not the first who supposed the *spirto gentil* of Petrarch to be addressed to the younger Stephen Colonna: and that eulogy has been also claimed for Giordano de' Sabelli; but the Italian editors have, for the most part, recognised the *gentle spirit* in Cola di Rienzi. (See Castelvetro's edition, Venice, 1756, p. 132 et seq.) Our London editor has rejected the French hypothesis. Zotti, tom. i. p. 112. Gibbon (chap. lxix. ad fin. and chap. lxx. p. 588, 4to.) followed his favourite Abbé.

‡ Historiæ Romanæ Fragmenta. Antiq. Med. Ævi, tom. iii. p. 399 to p. 480, and 509 to 546.

defects; and as those who suffered by his justice were the rebellious barons rather than the partizans either of the church or the empire, his half heroic, fantastic figure * has been delineated with unusual partiality. The facility with which he succeeded in his first designs shows that the allure of liberty had lost none of its charms at Rome, and that the tyranny of the nobles was equally odious with that of the Emperor or the Pope.

The fall of this abortion of fortune was the fruit rather of his own intemperance than of the inconstancy of the Romans.† As the overthrower of the usurpation of the nobles, as the assertor of justice, as the punisher of violence, and the projector of a splendid system which was to restore the freedom of Rome and of Italy, he did indeed "redeem centuries of shame." When the republican aspired to perpetuate his own power, when the tribune imitated the fopperies of royalty,‡ when the

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* "Costui era uomo fantastico; dall' un canto facea la figura d' eroe, dall' altro di pazzo."—Annali ad an. 1347, tom. viii. p. 250.

† Giovanni Villani seems inclined to divide the disgrace between the tribune and the people:—

"Nessuna signoria mondana dura
E la vana speranza t' ha scoperto
Il fine della fallace ventura."

—*Hist. Fiorentinæ*, lib. xii. cap. civ. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. xiii. p. 982.

‡ The account of the feast given by Rienzi in the Lateran palace is a singular picture of the magnificence and luxury of those times, as well as of the vulgar profusion of the tribune. "Sweetmeats of various kinds; a great abundance of sturgeon, a delicate fish;

reformer declared himself the champion of superstition * and the church, he lost his distinctive character, and, like a more celebrated personage of our own times, left a convincing proof that a revolution can be maintained only by the maxims, and even the very forms, by which it was at first ushered into life.

Tiraboschi† has given Rienzi a place amongst the restorers of literature, but he seems never to have seen some specimens of the tribune's composition existing in the royal library at Turin. Indeed the Abbé de Sade appears to be the only compiler who has consulted these manuscripts, and he transcribes such only as relate to Petrarch. The continuer of Baronius cites letters of Rienzi amongst the secret epistles of the Vatican, but cannot be inferred to have seen a copy of the Turin

pheasants, kids. Every one was allowed to pocket what he liked." "Confietti de divisate manere. Fonce abbonnantia de storione (lo pescie delicato); fasani, capretti. Chi bolea portare lo rifudio, se lo portava liberamente."—*Hist. Rom. Fragmenta*, cap. xxvii. p. 453, ibid. Stephen Colonna told Rienzi that the decent garments of a plebeian were more becoming the tribune than those pompous robes which he affected.—Ibid. cap. xxviii.

* Instead of the Holy Roman Empire, Rienzi called it the Holy Roman Republic in his title. "Nicola Severo e Clemente, de libertate, de pace, e de justitia Tribuno, anco de la Santa Romana Reipubbica Libberatore Illustre." It was in this spirit that his word of battle was *The Holy Ghost, Cavaliers!* "E ordinaò le battaglie, e fece li capitani delle vattaglie. E deo lo nome *Spirito Santo Cavalieri.*"—*Hist. Rom. Frag.*, cap. xxxii., ibid. When he came from Avignon, he came as senator of the Pope.

† Storia della Lett., tom. v. lib. ii. p. 313 et seq., edit. Moden. 1775.

papers.* By a strange fatality the acts of the Roman tribune have been preserved in the annals of a monastery at Liege.† The Canon Hocsemius has supplied us with three documents which are to be found also in the Turin manuscripts, and with two others which are not in that collection. Hocsemius was cited and translated by Du Cerceau,‡ and Du Cerceau was consulted by Gibbon, who does not appear to have referred to the original. Neither the one nor the other knew anything of the existence of these letters, which, although they are not the original acts, and although the collection whence they were transferred to the library is unknown, are undoubtedly authentic. They afford a curious specimen of the style in which a revolutionary leader addressed the Romans of the fourteenth century, and were, for the first time, published in the Illustrations to the Fourth Canto of 'Childe Harold,' 1818. It will be seen from these letters that Rienzi, like Cromwell, adopted a spiritual tone in his official discourses; and by no means openly, or, at least, in the first instance, declared against the authority of the Pope. The Abbé de Sade has argued at length against the supposed

* Raynaldus contin. Baronii ad an. 1347, num. xiii. xiv. et seq. tom. vi. p. 442 et seq. edit. Lucæ, 1750.

† Gesta Pontificum. Leodiens. scripserunt auctores Leodii anno 1613, tom. ii. Joan. Hocsemii Canon Leod. cap. xxxv., *Admiranda de Nicolao filio cujusdam molendarii Tribuno Romanæ urbis affecto*, p. 494 et seq.

‡ Conjuration de Nicolas Gabrini, dit de Rienzi, Tyran de Rome, en 1347; ouvrage posthume du R. Père Du Cerceau, de la Compagnie de Jésus à Paris, 1733.

citation of the Pope by Rienzi, when the tribune commanded the rival Emperors to appear before his tribunal, but the continuer of Baronius seems to have seen proofs of that temerity in the Vatican, and has published the excommunication of Rienzi by Clement VI. The Liege annals contain a long letter from Rienzi to Raynaldo de' Ursi, Papal notary, excusing himself for the irregularities of his conduct on the day of his knighthood, and defending the bathing in Constantine's Vase, and the other arrogant or puerile ceremonies which had alienated the affection of his former admirers.

The modern Capitol retains two objects which recall the memory of Rienzi—the horse of Aurelius,* called, formerly, the horse of Constantine, which stood before the Lateran, and from whose right nostril the tribune poured a stream of wine on the day of his ridiculous knighthood;† and the bronze table, usually called the *lex regia*, conferring the privileges of dominion on Vespasian, which Rienzi expounded to the populace,

* "A stream of wine flowed from the nostrils of Constantine's brazen horse: no complaint, except of the scarcity of water, could be heard."—*Decline and Fall*, cap. lxx. tom. xii. oct. p. 348. A trifling mistake in the masterly sketch of Rienzi's life. Wine flowed from the right, water from the left nostril. "In quella die continuamente de la matina nell' alva fin a nona, pe le nare de lo Cavallo de Constantino, che esse de vronzo pe canali de piommo ordenati jescio pe froscia ritta vino roscio, e pe froscia manca jescio acqua e cadea indificientemente ne la conca piena."—*Hist. Rom. Frag.*, cap. xxvi. p. 451, loc. cit.

† "Vitiosa buffonia" is the title given to the ceremony by the anonymous author of the Fragments. Rienzi excuses it in a letter to his friend Raynald Orsini.

and, by a strange distortion of meaning, cited as a proof of the majesty of their ancestors.* The inscription was once in the Lateran, and is now in the Capitoline Museum.

The horse was called the horse of Constantine, *by mistake*, in the time of Theodosius II. In the regionary of the eighth or ninth century, the *Caballus Constantini* is near the Temple of Concord, and was removed from the Forum to the Lateran in 1187, by Clement III. It was so much neglected when Sixtus IV. put it in a more conspicuous situation before the Lateran, that Flaminius Vacca, writing of it, says† it was found in a vineyard near the Scala Santa, which has been mistaken for a disinterment, but it was never underground. Paul III., in 1538, transferred it to the Capitol. But what Winkelmann says‡ of a nosegay given annually by the senator to the chapter of the Lateran, as an acknowledgment of right, is not true. Winkelmann was also mistaken in saying that the man was not on the horse in Rienzi's time. Michael Angelo made the

* Rienzi was not quite so ignorant as Gibbon has made him: he did not use the word *liberty*, but *majesty*. "Signori tanta era la majestate de lo popolo de Roma, che a lo imperatore dare l' autoritate."—Ibid. cap. iii. Gibbon calls the table "*still* extant in the choir of the church of St. John Lateran." He evidently forgot, or did not know, that both this table and the horse were in the Capitol when he wrote. The author of the Fragments says that Rienzi was the only man in Rome who could read or interpret the table.

† Vacca relates that, in his time, the Chapter of the Lateran claimed it, and had annual lawsuits with the S. P. Q. R. on the subject.

‡ Storia delle Arti, tom. ii. p. 395.

pedestal out of a piece of the architrave of the arch of Trajan.* When Falconet was in Rome, he found many faults with this horse, but added, "Nevertheless, my horse at St. Petersburg is dead, but this is alive."

ROMAN GOVERNMENT.

The papal government is the jest and the riddle, but is certainly not the glory, of the world. The existence of such a system, even in a country where the welfare of the community seems never to have been considered, is a standing miracle. From the foot of the Alps to the extremities of Calabria despotism has assumed various shapes, more or less hideous, more or less offensive in the eyes of those accustomed to the enjoyment of liberal institutions. But there is something absurd and fantastic in the forms and the very external appearance of the papal sovereignty, which is not to be met with beyond the pontifical state, and the full ridicule of which can be felt only at Rome. A priest may become a throne no less than a woman, and Sixtus Quintus, in his way, was a monarch no less respectable at home and formidable abroad than our own Elizabeth. A perpetual succession of women would not, however, be tolerated by any nation; and since the popes have lost that influence in other countries which gave dignity and importance to their character, it seems unaccountable that some of the fairest

* See Dissert. sulle Ruine, p. 410.

portions of the Italian peninsula should be subject to the dominion of a priest, chosen by priests, administering his power by priests, and coming into contact with his subjects only when in the performance of his clerical functions.

Even when at the height of their power, the popes (with few exceptions) maintained but a questionable authority at Rome either as men or as sovereigns. The Romans, fond, as has been said before, of their religion, have seldom been distinguished for attachment to the head of their church and state; and although there was a generous sympathy for the sufferings of the two last who bore the name of Pius, and a very natural aversion for foreign dominion, yet the salutary changes introduced by the French, and the present insignificance of the popedom in the eyes of Europe, must, it may be thought, have fully awakened the Romans to the humiliation as well as the misfortune of being subject to an authority different in its very nature and outward show from that of any portion of the civilized world.

If, under this theocracy, there were a tolerably impartial administration of justice—if the lives, the persons, and the properties of the citizens were secured by any contrivance—it would be no great hardship to submit to the anomaly of receiving laws from the altar instead of the throne. But the reverse is notoriously the case; and there is scarcely a single principle of wise regulation acted upon or recognised in the papal states.

Leo XII. visited hospitals and convents, and all eccle-

siastical establishments, at any and at all hours of night or day.* He punished a baker who supplied bad bread to the poor of the Spirito Santo. This personal superintendence of the monarch was extolled to the skies by some worthy Romans, who did not see in such conduct an unequivocal sign of bad government, and who thought it quite a proof of generosity that the same pontiff should send a present of 200 crowns to the judge who presided at the condemnation of the Carbonari!

The first principles of criminal jurisprudence seem as much forgotten or unknown as if the French code had never been the law of the land: a secret process—a trial by one judge and a sentence by another—protracted imprisonment—disproportioned judgments—deferred and disgusting punishments—all tend to defeat the ends of justice, and to create a sympathy with the culprit rather than a reverence for the law. Useless rigour or pernicious lenity—at one time a whole town razed to the ground for having sheltered robbers—at another a gang of the same banditti conciliated by a treaty with the Cardinal Secretary of State in person—suspected Carbonari hanged at Ravenna—convicted murderers pardoned at Rome—such were some of the consequences of the restoration. But this is not all. The revenue of the state, raised by a thousand independent, conflicting, and almost arbitrary authorities, impoverishes and vexes the people more than

* Cardinal Wiseman gives an amusing picture of the surprise and awe created by one of these visits, 'Four Popes,' p. 262.

it enriches the government. All taxation, all commercial regulation, seems to be the effect of some momentary whim or caprice, instead of such as can be anticipated by prudence, or made tolerable by skill and industry. Not long ago (in the reign of Leo XII.) an ingenious attempt was made to improve upon the prohibitory system by forbidding the importation of certain articles of the first necessity, which no home manufacture could possibly produce; a second edict exposed and remedied the blunder. The lottery is a fruitful source of revenue. The Roman and Tuscan governments entered into partnership for this pious purpose: the lowest stake was three baiocchi and a half; and, as if to make some amends for the immorality, a "povera zitella" has sometimes a dower given to her of 200 or 300 crowns. Efforts have been made to reform the judicial character by adding to the salary of the lawyers on the bench. The usual pay of the judges was about eighteen crowns a month: it was made two hundred, "*senza le incerte*,"—that is to say, with no allowance of those bribes and presents which were formerly not only connived at, but openly permitted to be given by the suitors in the courts. Of the criminal justice some notion may be formed by the fact before mentioned, of the sovereign transmitting a reward to the president of one of his tribunals for condemning the Carbonari who attempted a revolution at Ravenna. One of these was condemned to fifteen years' imprisonment, without prejudice, *i. e.* in addition, to a previous sentence of ten years of the galleys. The man was accused of

shooting at a police-officer; but the edict which awarded the punishment said that "the crime had *not* been proved on account of the spirit of party prevalent in that province!" It was but the other day * that a man who had been imprisoned seven years at Ancona, without either trial or interrogation, was abruptly told that his cell-door was open and he might quit the gaol. The captive thought that some trap was laid for him, and refused to quit the prison until the keeper showed him the order of liberation, and prevailed on him, with great difficulty, to depart. Such is the treatment of those suspected of political offences; but let a man commit a real crime, he is sure to find some prelate or other intercessor to plead away his punishment; and all, as the Romans say, "per bontà di cuore."

In no country in the world—England perhaps and Naples excepted—are laws, lawyers, and lawsuits so numerous as at Rome. Whole fortunes have often been exhausted, as in the cause between the Barberini and Colonna families, by an interminable attempt to decide on some private right. An Englishman has little right to be angry with those who still profess a sacred horror at usury; but it must be confessed that the Romans are in this respect more zealously attached to ancient prejudices than ourselves. In 1828 an "*assunto*" was placarded in Rome, announcing that the Senator and his tribunal, under the power of a decree of Falconieri,

* Written in 1828.

governor of Rome in 1720, had condemned to certain penalties three usurers, found guilty of trading at two per cent. per month. One of them, seventy years old, was condemned to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 1000 crowns; but the punishment of one of them was remitted because, as the record averred, he had been eleven months in prison previously to his trial.* However, the heaviest punishment—three years' imprisonment and the galleys—was threatened against both him and the other culprits if they should ever again "*fall into suspicion*" of the like offence. Against one of the condemned no proofs had been adduced; but he was ordered to present himself if proofs were ever found. How long ago is it that Beccaria wrote his book and Bentham his essay?

The Papalty, like the Ottoman Empire in Europe, subsists by sufferance, and on account of the difficulty of disposing of so much territory and so many subjects to any new master. The great Powers having determined that this strange dominion shall not be put an end to, the Romans themselves have not the means, if they had the inclination, to effect a change. Some of the provinces are more suspected of revolutionary wishes; but in the capital a government even much more oppressive than any now existing would probably be submitted to

* In 1854 I saw the guillotine still standing on the eminence above the Cloaca Maxima, where, the same morning, had been executed three men who had been in prison since 1849!!!

without resistance, and almost without a murmur. The head of the state is an Italian, he is chosen by Italians, and the humblest subject of a pope may succeed to his sceptre. These reflections may console a Roman for his submission to a spiritual prince, not only insignificant but ridiculous in the eyes of all Europe.*

Rome derives much less of her importance from the power of the living than from the remains of the dead: she is rather one great academy for the artists of the universe than the capital of an independent state. She is the metropolis of the painter, the sculptor, the architect, the antiquarian; add also, of the idle and restless of all nations. To them she belongs much more than to the Romans themselves. Even her sovereign and his court make but a part of the show for the curious of the earth, and, equally with the Column of Trajan and the Porch of Agrippa, seem to belong to another age. Neither the one nor the other interests the native. He is a stranger in his own city, whose very decorations and aggrandizement are contrived for the attraction, and, in many cases, are due to the enterprise, of foreigners.

I asked a resident for many years at Rome for a character of the nobles. This was his answer: "Their palaces are either sold to Torlonia, the Bonaparte family, or others; or falling down, like the great Chigi

* The above was written in 1828. I see very little to alter now (1854), except that there is more general discontent apparent than formerly.

square; or let as apartments, like the Rospigliosi and Barberini—their fortunes are exhausted by improvidence or dispersed amongst many branches—their young men associate with the lowest of the artisans, are equally ignorant and prejudiced, and more debauched—their amusements are without vivacity—their vices without vigour—their pursuits, if such a word can be applied to him who does nothing, ignoble and effeminate. It is true that the young gentlemen who fill the promenades of London and Paris have very little more to recommend them than the patricians of modern Rome; and it must be also confessed that the higher orders in their country have an excuse which cannot be given for the follies of any other aristocracy. There is no career open to them, and, in fact, they are not the aristocracy—at least, they are not a privileged order. The real nobility of Rome must be looked for amongst the members of the hierarchy, who, from the very reverend and most eminent Lord High Chamberlain and the legates of provinces, down to the purple-stockinged mylords of the metropolis, enjoy all the dignities and emoluments, and perform all the functions, attached to the privileged classes of other states. Of these grandees the importance is so strictly preserved that a Cardinal must not appear without three servants behind his carriage, and a Monsignore is not allowed even to walk without one liveried attendant at his heels. The attire of these lacqueys is, however, quite a matter of indifference, and would in England denote extreme indigence. A layman, either

high or low, finds the utmost difficulty in obtaining redress from one of the sovereign order, whereas a simple 'parocho,' if he would punish an enemy, has but to apply to the Presidenza, which gives him a file of soldiers, and the offender is carried away in the night. The natural consequence of this inferiority of condition is, that, with one or two exceptions, the great nobility, or, as they are called, the princes of Rome, neither form a distinct class nor obtain consideration in mixed society. Those that are distinguished are known only by their eccentricities. The great B—— can scarcely read or write. Pius VII. would not receive him at court; but Leo XII. offered him the command of his army. One is a money-lender at eight per cent.; another is a notorious miser, not only of his money, but his marbles. This prince, wishing the other day to be very courteous, displayed some of his rare medals at his dinner-table, but only one by one, and never producing the second till he had carefully pocketed the first. The Marquess ——, the most ingenious of these gentlemen, said on one occasion, 'We go for nothing at Rome; we are ignorant and we are happy; but our Milanese friends, who know something and wanted to know more, they got themselves into prison.' Their happiness, however, may be doubted: their manner and expression denote anything but content. A party of them jaunting (on an allegria) into the country is the most melancholy of all human objects, even in the eyes of those who have assisted at some of our own summer excursions to the

banks of the Thames. The foibles of these nobles would not be worth a record, seeing that they are to be found amongst the higher classes of all countries, if they were not, unfortunately, the only traits by which this once powerful body is rescued from utter insignificance and oblivion. The D—— of —— is fond of bullock-driving: if he was not known by that, he would not be known at all. Prince —— ruined himself on his French embassy, and lives on three pauls a-day." Such was my friend's description of the Roman nobility; and that description was confirmed by much that I heard during my early visits to Rome: when I was there in 1854 they appeared to me to have shaken off some of their indolence, and their amusements were of the more manly kind. The fox-hounds of Prince Odescalchi showed us some good sport, which, I am sorry to learn, has been since forbidden, on account of a fatal accident. A more unwise interference can scarcely be imagined. Let me add, that of the Roman nobles I found a few, in 1854, worthy of a better fate than had hitherto befallen them. One or two of them had come out of the severe trials of 1848-9 with credit to themselves and advantage to the cause which they had manfully, although unsuccessfully, endeavoured to uphold.

Of the great ladies I am unwilling to speak, as I know too little of their domestic habits to be qualified to offer a fair opinion of them. I presume they differ little from the same class in other luxurious capitals. Very few of their houses are open to foreigners, and to the English

perhaps less than to those of any nation. One of these princesses, talking of our fellow-countrymen, designated them as "those who speak the strange language."

If these high-born dames have the failings of their sex, they do not parade them so ostentatiously as it is the fashion to do in some other parts of Italy; and two or three of them, at the very head of society, not indeed Romans themselves, but married to the highest nobles, have been patterns of every virtue. The Princesses Massimi, Borghese, and Doria are never mentioned but with unmingled praise. The death of the Princess Borghese was bewailed as a public calamity. Her surviving sister receives the respectful homage of all classes. She is a blessing to the poor, and the chief ornament of the society to which she belongs.

RELIGION.

I make no allusion to the doctrines or mysteries of the Roman Catholic faith, when I say that what is called religion is at Rome a part, and a great part, of the business of life, and mixes itself up with the amusements, and the most indifferent actions, of all classes, at all ages. Could the fear of God and the prospects of eternity control human conduct, the Romans ought to be the best of men. The following inscription is, or ought to be, found placarded on the shutter of every little shop: "IDDIO CI VEDE—ETERNITÀ." Children play at church processions, with crosses, candles, bells, and tablecloths for robes; grown-up folks, looking on,

cry "bravi," and cross themselves as the mimics pass. A boy, before he takes a leap, crosses himself; when a school parades through the Coliseum, all the pupils and the tutor kiss the cross in the middle of the arena: a party, after an evening-walk, finishes with a prayer in a church, generally in that church which happens to be in fashion for the season. St. Carlo and St. Isidoro were in vogue in 1828, and their contiguity to the Corso gave them a very convenient celebrity; but the true devotional lounger will drop into a dozen churches one after another, and many such there are who seem to have no other occupation; even a poor servant-girl, if she misses mass one day, will hear two the next. A small chapel in the Via San Isidoro is supported by very poor people, who like to have a mass of their own, said by a priest of their own, and some of the contributors are street beggars. A Monsignore officiates once a year, to give a sort of dignity to this ragged fraternity, who are not, however, without their spiritual pride, for they have maintained a contest with the neighbouring monastery of San Isidoro (composed chiefly of Irishmen), respecting what is called a "Via Crucis," or pathway of stations recording the sufferings of our Saviour, which they intend should terminate in their own chapel; but the monks, whose church is above, contend that this would interfere with their road to Calvary, and induce their worshippers to stop half way up the hill. The quarrel is before the Rota.

It is computed that there are 15,000 "clerici" in

Rome, and, with such a government and such a people, it is matter of surprise that the number is not greater. The priesthood have not only the consciences but the purses of the faithful, to much extent, in their own keeping. If a notary fail to ask a person, whose will he is making, whether he has bequeathed a legacy for pious uses, he is suspended; and in any process between clergy and laity, the most jealous care is taken not to give the victory, "*dar la vinta*," to the latter. In order to avoid the shame of open defeat, and at the same time to prevent too gross a partiality, private amends are occasionally made by the tribunal which has awarded the public injustice, but the inclinations and habits of the people are in perfect accord with the government. The priesthood, regular and secular, are in fact a portion of themselves, and what they give to them they give to members of their own family, so that, though superstition has some part in pious charities, fellow feeling and friendship have more. Cardinal Mikra was son of a peasant of Frascati: Cardinal Zurlo was of much the same extraction, and when Consalvi sent for him to tell him he was to have the purple, he thought he had committed some offence, and was to be punished for it.

The rule of the Theatins was to ask for nothing, neither to toil nor to spin, nor to take heed for the morrow; yet, in sixty years, these lilies of the valley flourished and multiplied exceedingly, and became the richest order in Italy. The beggarly Franciscans celebrated their six hundredth anniversary in October

(1842),* and everything that can give life and importance to the ceremony was to be seen during the three days' holidays of the fraternity. A Franciscan is a great man in these days, yet no one seems to envy or dislike his superiority, or to compare it with his vows of poverty.

The great treasure of Araceli, however, is the Santo Bambino, so renowned for curing the sick, that, when the patient is too infirm to visit the church, the image is carried in a coach, with much pomp, to the house of the invalid.

A marble Madonna was lately found in the vaults of a convent to which she had been consigned by the French; and one of the order also discovered a record of a certain miraculous image which once worked wonders in their chapel. Of course the Madonna was the very image; at all events it was reinstalled in ceremony, and with such success that a monk of the fraternity assured Mr. —— that the oblations of the first year amounted to 18,000 crowns, and they might reckon upon a regular income of 1000 for many years to come. These are willing offerings, and to these must be added little sums paid for little sins, particularly by women who wish to keep well with their priests, and commute a penance with a small present. The same feeling sends many of those who adventure in

* An account of the festival is given in note † to page 78 of this volume.

the lottery to consult some favourite friar as to what numbers they ought to select.* A prize ensures the conjurer one fat pullet at the least; or, if all his numbers are lucky, five. A capuchin of the Trinità de' Monti practised so much in that way as to offend Cardinal Mikra, their general, who, having in vain forbidden this magic, at last imprisoned the offender. The frati missed him at their dinner, ran to the prison, broke it open, and, rescuing their brother, carried him in triumph round the refectory. The cardinal, trying to interfere, was whipped with the sleeves of the rebels, and ran away to the Vatican. The disturbance, in which at least one life was lost, for the cardinal was not without friends in the convent, was not quelled without the interference of the gensdarmes. The story was incautiously told in the 'Diario di Roma,' but was formally contradicted in the same journal, which also contained an order not to speak or write of the pretended transaction.

Another version of the origin of this holy insurrection is, that the Pope, having received certain anonymous letters complaining of Mikra's severity, showed them to the cardinal, who hurried to the convent, and, looking into the refectory, read the letters to the monks at dinner, and asked who had dared to write them; on this one of the party rose and said, "I am the man." The cardinal

* We have much to be ashamed of in regard to these practices at home; but with us the frauds of conjurers are punishable by law.

ordered the culprit to be seized; resistance was made, and knives were used. The arrival of the gensdarmes, and the subsequent dispersion of the brotherhood into various monasteries, put an end to the disorder, but the scandal survived, and, as may easily be imagined, the silence enjoined was far from strictly observed.

The age of miracles is not gone by. At the last beatification, during the Jubilee of 1825, one of the attested deviations from the common course of nature, in favour of the person who was to receive the holy honours of the day, was painted and placarded on the door of St. Peter's. The Beandus, coming one fast-day into the kitchen of an unscrupulous Catholic, beheld sundry thrushes and larks on the spit. The good man was scandalised thereat, and, to reprove and punish the offender, ordered the birds to resume their feathers and their lives, and fly incontinently away. They obeyed. This miracle, of very recent occurrence, was seen and recorded by several trustworthy witnesses, and the King of Naples paid the expenses incurred by the beatification of the holy father.

It is asserted that men of intelligence privately deride these things. It may be so; but their public conduct is that of all others at Rome. Cardinal Consalvi had the reputation of extreme liberality, not to say indifference, on this point. Indeed, his language now and then was a little too sportive for one of his cloth. It was only a few days before his death that, conversing with Dr. W——, who had lately returned from the Holy Land,

and who was giving him an unfavourable picture of the Christian clergy in those parts of the world, the Cardinal observed, "La religione Christiana, apparamente, comincia d'invecchiarsi in quella parte." Yet Consalvi left the bulk of his fortune to the Jesuits, besides bequeathing a considerable sum for the completion and embellishment of two churches, one of which is finished and bears his name, and records his munificence on the façade. This inconsistency is observable in all classes of Roman society. St. Joseph's day is not unfrequently made the subject of a most unseemly jest, which I forbear to record; and the priests themselves are, by the nature of their office, made the confidants of all the numberless intrigues of a large and luxurious city, where brothels and prostitution are put down by ordonnances of a government which has broken the moulds of the celebrated engravings of the Farnesina frescoes, and covered the nakedness of the statues.

Whatever can be done by edict, Leo XII. has done to restore the full sway of that religion which has made him a sovereign. The Feast of St. Michael — 29th of September — once a half-holiday, he has made a whole one, because that saint is especially the conqueror of Satan. In such reforms he has been admirably seconded by his subjects, whose hereditary love of holidays has made them the idlest people of the earth. Indeed, a pope who should be suspected of philosophy would not add to his character or his power at home, whatever might be his reputation abroad. A

professor was allowed by Pius VII. to lecture on astronomy, but he was forbidden to publish his dissertations on the solar system, as being at variance with the Mosaic account of the Creation. Ganganelli said to Mr. Townley, "People do not come here as formerly for benedictions; we must have other attractions;" and accordingly the Clementine Gallery was founded. But this applies to strangers: the native loves the priest who gives most plenary indulgences, and encourages by his own example all the forms and fashions of the faith. The excellent Pius VII. complained to an English gentleman of the folly of those who had represented him as rapt in an extasy at Savona; but, said he, "I am not despotic; I must fall in with the temper of my clergy."*.

A belief, or a profession of belief, in miracles is not confined to the lower classes. Cardinal Wiseman—of whom we may fairly say that he is not an ordinary man†—attributes the recovery of Leo XII. from an apparently fatal illness to a Monsignore Strambi, of the Congregation of the Passion, who offered up his own life for that of the Pope, and whose prayers were granted; for he himself died the next day, 31st of December, 1823, and the Pontiff rose like one recovered from the grave.‡ Pius VII. foretold that Cardinal Castiglione would be Pope, and, says our Cardinal, "to tell the "truth, one does not see why, if a Jewish high-priest

* Written in 1828. † οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνὴρ.—*Longin.*, sec. ix.
‡ Four Popes, p. 236.

"had the gift of prophecy for his year of office,* one "of a much higher order and dignity should not occa- "sionally be allowed to possess it." † But this capacity was not confined to Pontiffs; for, one day, when, before his pontificate, Pius VI. and his successor were riding in the same carriage, a peasant, who was never seen nor heard of afterwards, foretold to them that they would both be Popes.‡ A very celebrated personage of our own time and country was extricated from some difficulty by a heavenly messenger. Daniel O'Connell, when young at the bar, was pleading an important cause, the decision of which turned on the meaning of the phrase "a lax weir," and the future Liberator would have been nonsuited had not a mysterious stranger thrown a twisted paper to him, and disappeared. He opened the paper, and found that a lax weir was a salmon-weir. The interpretation gained the cause, and O'Connell began the career which made him a great man. The stranger was never seen again. Far be it from me to say that these tales are not true; but the publication of them by a Cardinal, as instances of Divine interposition, shows what may be expected from the common people of Rome.

I take this opportunity of adding that, miracles apart, 'The Four Popes' is a very agreeable work, and that the Cardinal's account of his college life in Rome and the neighbouring hills exhibits a most pleasing picture of the society to which he belonged.

* 2 Jo. xi. 52, Four Popes. † Four Popes, p. 364.
‡ Ib. p. 366.

But if modern Cardinals partake of the popular superstition, so did the statesmen and warriors of ancient days. In the Via di Poli, on a strip of marble inserted in the wall of a church (the Crociferi), is an inscription which has always struck me as one of the most singular of Roman curiosities, although not noticed in the guide-books used in 1817. It is this:—

> "Hanc vir patricius Belisarius urbis amicus
> Ob culpæ veniam condidit ecclesiam;
> Hanc idcirco pedem sacrum qui ponis in ædem
> Ut miseretur eum sæpe precare deum
>
> Janua hæc est Templi Domino defensa potenti."

It will be perceived that this inscription is in monkish rhyme, and the question arises at what period such a construction of verse began to prevail. Muratori,* in his Dissertation on Latin Rhymed Poetry, of which he gives specimens from the time of Ennius to the eighth Christian century, alludes to this inscription, and seems, though with much hesitation, to agree with Cardinal Baronius in thinking that it is to be assigned to the same date as the church to which it belonged, namely about the year 538, when, it is said, Justinian imposed this penance of church-building upon his General. Muratori probably had not himself noticed the inscription, for he does not give the last line of it, which is quoted by Baronius and by Nardini, and which shows that the inscription was placed over the porch of the original

* Antiq. Mæd. Ævi, tom. iii. Dissert. 40.

church. The present edifice was raised "ex fundamentis," in 1575, by Gregory XIII.

I cannot say that I think the argument in favour of the antiquity of the inscription, as adduced by Muratori, at all conclusive.* The belief that the soul of Belisarius might require the prayers of the faithful, may have lasted ages after the original church was built, and the inscription may have been put up by some pious restorer of the building. I remarked that the name of the repentant warrior was written thus: VEIL, the E being inserted in the V, and the I in the L. It is somewhat singular that Gibbon, who has devoted so much diffusive eloquence to the praise of Belisarius and to the mean jealousies of Justinian, makes no allusion to this record of the disgrace of almost the last of Roman conquerors.† What was the crime for which the construction of this church was the penance can now only be conjectured. The dissolute Antonina founded a convent after the death of Belisarius, and it is possible that she may have attributed the deed to the posthumous piety of her illustrious husband.

A statue, formerly in the Villa Borghese, representing a person with his hand stretched out, as if

* Si quisquam rejiciat post sæcula x. adversari nolim—attamen sunt quæ suadeant ipso sæculo Xtianæ æræ viæ inscriptionem fuisse positam — vix enim post multa sæcula rogandus fuerat populus ut precibus repetitis Belisarius misericordiam a Deo impetraret.—*Murat.*, ib.

† Decline and Fall, chaps. xli., xlii.

asking charity, was called a Belisarius, until the criticism of Winkelmann * rectified the mistake, and the story of the conqueror of Carthage and the saviour of Rome degraded to a blind beggar was consigned to the romance of history.

What Augustus feared Belisarius suffered. Perhaps a more striking instance of the repeated vicissitudes of fortune cannot be furnished by the whole range of history—vicissitudes not brought about, like that of the great conqueror of our own days, by his own inordinate ambition, but by that inconstancy of fortune which the worship of Nemesis was intended to avert.

It was the fear of the sudden termination of prosperity that made Amasis, king of Egypt, warn his friend Polycrates, of Samos, that the gods loved those whose lives were chequered with good and evil fortunes. Nemesis was supposed to lie in wait particularly for the prudent—that is, for those whose caution rendered them

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* Winkelmann, Storia, lib. xii., cap. iii., tom. ii. p. 422. Visconti calls the statue a Cybele. It is given in the 'Museo Pio Clementino,' tom. i. par. 40. The Abate Fea, Spiegazione dei Rami, Storia, &c., tom. iii. p. 513, calls it a Chrisippus; and it is now, I believe, still called a Philosopher. The old name of the statue was "Augustus propitiating Nemesis"—a ceremony which that emperor performed once a-year! Sueton. in Vit. Augusti. cap. 91. Casaubon, in the note, refers to Plutarch's Lives of Camillus and Æmilius Paulus, and also to his Apophthegms, for the character of this deity. The hollowed hand was reckoned the last degree of degradation: and when the dead body of the præfect Rufinus was borne about in triumph by the people, the indignity was increased by putting his hand in that position.

accessible only to mere accidents: and her first altar was raised on the banks of the Phrygian Æsepus by Adrastus, probably the prince of that name who killed the son of Crœsus by mistake. Hence the goddess was called Adrastea.*

The Roman Nemesis was *sacred* and *august:* there was a temple to her in the Palatine under the name of Rhamnusia: so great indeed was the propensity of the ancients to trust to the revolution of events, and to believe in the divinity of Fortune, that in the same Palatine there was a temple to the Fortune of the day. This is the last superstition which retains its hold over the human heart; and from concentrating in one object the credulity so natural to man, has always appeared strongest in those unembarrassed by other articles of belief. The antiquaries have supposed this goddess to be synonymous with fortune and with fate: but it was in her vindictive quality that she was worshipped under the name of Nemesis.

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* DEAE NEMESI
SIVÆ FORTUNAE
PISTORIVS
RVGIANVS
V. C. LEGAT.
LEG. XIII. G.
GORD.

See Questiones Romanæ, &c., ap. Græv. Antiq. Roman. tom. v. p. 942. See also Muratori, Nov. Thesaur. Inscrip. Vet. tom. i. pp. 88, 89, where there are three Latin and one Greek inscription to Nemesis, and others to Fate.

REVOLUTION OF 1848.

I intended to give a detailed account of the political events that have recently occurred in the Roman States; but, having heard totally opposite opinions from trustworthy persons resident in Rome during the late troubles, and having consulted those published works which treat of them, I confess that I am unable to tell what appears to me to be the truth without running the risk of producing unhappy results. The ashes of the conflagration are yet warm, and I would not awaken, by however small a spark, a flame that might only add to the previous desolation.

Nothing would be easier than to point out the mistakes of some of those who were the principal actors in the struggles of 1848-9, but I am afraid that something must be added to the well-known apophthegm of Bacon, and that, although it may be very true that a man is never made wise except by his own experience, it is a lamentable fact that even his own experience does not always teach him to act well in the future conduct of life. The efforts made by some Italians since the peace of 1815 afford the strongest possible instance of this tendency to neglect contemporary lessons, and repeat previous errors.

It appears that, ever since the disasters of 1848-9 and the restoration of the old system throughout the whole of Italy excepting Piedmont, unceasing efforts have been made to organise insurrections, not only in the states

governed despotically, but even in portions of the Sardinian dominions, happily enjoying true constitutional freedom.* The most discouraging of all the symptoms of this fever is the aversion with which the extreme partisans of "Unity and Independence" regard the Sardinian Government—which, however, it must be confessed, is the main obstacle to the establishment of the purely democratic confederation of the Italian States; for so long as the example of the advantages of a mixed form of government, on the English model, is before their eyes, and attains daily greater strength and influence, purely republican principles, advocated by men made desperate by oppression and misfortune, can make but little way with the Italians.

I had an opportunity, in the spring of 1854, of seeing something of the working of the Sardinian constitution, and of forming an acquaintance with the excellent man then and now (1858) at the head of the Government.

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* This fact may be inferred from Orsini's 'Memoirs,' which may be presumed to be generally authentic, although it is to be hoped that a letter ascribed to Mazzini, contained in these 'Memoirs' (p. 131), dated in September, 1854, is a forgery. That letter recommends the organisation of a "Company of Death, like our fathers of the Lombard League, composed of eighty young men robust and devoted," to undertake the simultaneous murder of the principal officers of the Austrian army in Lombardy!

The Lombard League is calumniated by this reference. The true prototype of the notable scheme is alluded to in other parts of the letter, although the arrangements by which each Austrian officer was to be watched and dogged and disposed of by three assassins is somewhat of an improvement on the Sicilian Vespers.

No one can fully appreciate the merits of the Cavour Ministry without being acquainted with the difficulties with which they have to contend. One of the cabinet observed to me that they had three Irelands—Genoa, which is always discontented, and elects for deputies either partisans of Mazzini or friends of the Pope; Savoy, which sends to the Chamber eight or ten representatives zealous adherents of the Papal interest; and Sardinia, which is in a half-barbarous state of feudalism. But the great majority of the Representative Chamber is in favour of the Government, and it is in the other House that the principal difficulty occurs, for the majority is decidedly unfavourable to the new Constitution, and, as they sit for life, it will be only by a large addition of new senators that any material change in this body can be made. How Charles Albert in 1847 came to select such men I could not learn; perhaps as a balance against the ultra-democratic party in the Chamber of Deputies.

In 1854 there were 30,000 refugees in Turin and the immediate neighbourhood, and of these not a few were known emissaries of Mazzini, introduced into Piedmont by Austrian passports. The press was totally unfettered so far as the expression of political opinion was concerned, and was used most freely by the enemies of the present constitutional system. The journals which represent the most decided republican principles were more than suspected of being supported essentially by the Austrian and Neapolitan Governments; and when a Genoese newspaper indulged in abuse of the Prince of

Carignan so violent that the editor was alarmed for the personal consequences of it, he escaped on board a Neapolitan man of war.

So long as the system happily established in Piedmont is supported by the virtue and energy of such men as Cavour, it may, in all probability, continue to exhibit a living example of the value of free institutions; but that existence is precarious which depends on individual character; and should any material change take place in the Sardinian Cabinet before the nation itself has become much more united and stronger than it is at present, the fairest hopes of the Italian peninsula might be blasted at once. I say of the Italian peninsula, for the only chance of constitutional freedom being established throughout that fair land seems to me to depend upon the permanence of the present Sardinian system.

In estimating the value of that system we should never forget the trials through which, independently of its present difficulties, it has been its misfortune to pass. The ambitious enthusiasm, to use no harder term, of Gioberti, and similar advisers, was fatal to Charles Albert; and I am afraid, from all I have heard, that the 'Glance at Revolutionized Italy' gives too faithful a picture of the mischiefs produced by the club speeches and circulars of that short-lived popular leader and minister.* Those who look at the proceedings of the

* See 'A Glance at Revolutionized Italy,' vol. ii. chap. 23; and particularly the Address of 'Le Comité Central de la Société pour la Confédération Italienne,' at p. 264.

regenerators of Italy in that period from an English point of view may pronounce them half crazy and absurd; but how could the Italians look at them from an English point of view? They were persuaded that their projects of unity and independence would receive the active support and interference of England—a grievous mistake certainly; but how could they know that the English generally, and the great majority of their talkers and writers, know nothing, and care nothing, about foreign politics; and that, whatever attention they can devote to such subjects is absorbed by their too spiritual, too restless, and too powerful neighbours?—How could they know that, even of those who have some knowledge and love of Italy, the most prudent and trustworthy regard her Unity and Independence as little better than a pleasing dream, the reality of which has never been, nor is likely to be, actually attained?

APPENDIX.

(A.)

LETTERS OF RIENZI.

TRIBUNUS SENATUI POPULOQUE ROMANO.

EXULTENT in circuitu vestro montes, induantur colles gaudio, et universe planities, atque vestra Romana civitas, et valles pacem *germinent*, ubertate *fœcundentur*, et eterna lætitia repleantur. Resurgat Romana civitas diuturne prostracionis a lapsu, solium *solite* majestatis ascendens, vestitus *viduitatis* deponat et lugubres, sponsalem induat purpuram, liberum diadema caput exornet, colla manilibus muniat, resumat justitie sceptrum, ac totis circumfulta, et renovata virtutibus, tanquam sponsa ornata, se placituram sponso suo exhibeat. Excitentur sacerdotes ejus, et proceres, seniores ejus, et juvenes matrone, pupilli simul et virgines, omnisque Romanus exercitus in voce salutis attonitus, flexis in terram genibus, fixis in cœlum oculis, palmis erectis ad sidera, lætissimis animis devotissimis mentibus, gratias Deo referrant, et gloriam resonant in excelsis. Ecce namque cœli aperti sunt, et Dei gloria, Dei patris orta lux Christi; Spiritus Sancti lumen effundens nobis inter tenebrosas habitantibus umbras mortis preparavit gratiam *inopinate* et admirabilis claritatis. Ecce quidem clementissimus Agnus Dei, peccata confundens, sanctissimus vir Romanus Pontifex, Pater Urbis, Sponsus et Dominus sue sponse clamoribus, querelis, et luctibus excitatus, compaciensque suis cladibus, calamitatibus, et ruinis, ad renovacionem ipsius urbis, gloriam plebisque, attonitus, mundi leticiam, et salutem, inspiracione sancti Spiritus, sinum clementie sue graciosus aperiens, *misericordiam* nobis propinavit, et gratiam,

ac universo mundo redempcionem promittit, et remissionem gentibus peccatorum. Etenim post honorabilem ambiaxate nostre supplicacionem non humano, verum divino consilio conformatam [perhabita deliberacione matura Dominorum Cardinalium, omniumque Romane curie prelatorum, diversis ac variis linguis in divinam consonantibus voluntatem Spiritus, sancti oracionibus, ac missis per universas Christianorum Ecclesias celebratis], die vigesima septima mensis hujusmodi in magna frequentia populi *preclari* Romani exercitus vocem gratie expectantis, solempnissime, immo angelico premisso sermone, in voce salutis, et leticie, decreto apostolico ad futurum quinquagesimum, et sic deinceps perpetuo, annum, promulgavit et edidit jubileum; nec non oblatum sibi urbis dominium grata voluntate suscipiens, visitacionem sedis apostolice post sedata *Gallorum* scandala, cum ineffabili novit affectu, sermone, vultu, manibus, toto decoro corpore totis signis exterioribus, ultra quam dici poterit, *animosis*. Cum itaque, fratres karrissimi, a domino factum sit istud mirabile *quoddam* in oculis intuencium non aliter nisi ut civitas vestra, Sponsa Romani Pontificis, expurgata vicio-rum vepribus, *suasibus* renovata virtutibus in odorem unguentorum suorum *vernarum* suscipiat sponsum suum. Idcirco letis vos precamur in lacrimis ardentibus *extorquamur exortam affectibus*, quatenus, depositis ferreis armis, guerrarum flammis extinctis, mundificatis cordibus gratis desideriis, hæc grata, hæc divina munera, hæc dona cælestia capiatis, magnificantes in hymnis, psalmis jubilantes, et laudibus, nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi, necnon clementissimo successori ejus Domino nostro summo Pontifici humiles gratias referentes, in cujus labiis gratia divina diffusa renovati estis, et benedicti eciam in eternum, insignem purpura, et auro ejus sculptam imaginem in Romano amphitheatro, seu capitolio statuentes, ut ipsius clementissimi Patris, *patrie*, auctoris, et liberatoris urbis eterne, vivat in posteros leta et gloriosa memoria nullorum diuturnitate temporum peritura. Quis enim Scipio, quis Cæsar, quis Metellus, Marcellus, Fabius liberatores patrie veteribus *rencensemus* annalibus, et inextinguabili dignos memoria judicamus, quorum solempnes

effigies in preciosis lapidibus sculptas pro virtutis memoria et splendore miramur, tanta tanquam gloria decorare patriam potuissent? Illi quidem armati in bellorum austeritatibus mundi calamitatibus, morte et sanguine civium perituras *paruere* victorias. Hic non rogatus cum omnium vita, leticia civium, et salute, immortales, ac eternos subjecit oculis posteritatis et nostris solo verbo triumphos. *Nonne hic* est qui spiritualibus telis armatus exurgens, adversus presentes, futurasque calamitates patrie, providum bellum gerens, omnem miseriam inopum, gentium pauperum, Romane reipublice debilitate, ac paratam desperate plebis mortem, uno sanctissimo ac triumphali verbo delevit? Venerandam itaque et colendam hujus Patris memoriam Romanum genus ceterorum memoriis antecellat, presentes predicent, et levata nacio future posteritatis expectet, honorificantes denique urbem ac vestram sanctissimam tantis muneribus dignam, tantis honoribus celitus validatam, per quam, fratres carissimi, nisi solutis viciorum calciamentis, et innocentibus, ac mundatis pedibus ambulare gentibus non liceret, quoniam locus in quo statis, et vivitis, terra verissime sancta est.

Annunciando denique vobis id gaudium, quod si Dominus noster summus Pontifex per hance celestem gratiam vos virtutes, et vicia expurgare, optata sibi fama dictante, perceperit, apertis tociens clemencie suæ alis ad visitacionem *dilecte* urbis sue, cum comitiva apostolorum, *cicius*, quam gentes crederent, transvolabit.

Nicolaus Laurencii, Romanus Consul, orphanorum, viduarum, et pauperium unicus popularis legatus ad Dominum nostrum Romanum Pontificem animo, manuque propriis.*

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* This letter is marked, fol. 182, v. 183, of the Codex Taurinensis, and was published for the first time in the Historical Illustrations to the fourth canto of Childe Harold.

TRANSLATION.

The Tribune to the Senate and the Roman people.

Let the mountains around you exult! Let the hills, and the plains, and your city of Rome be covered with joy; and may the valleys shed peace, and be abundantly fruitful, and filled with everlasting gladness! May the Roman city, ascending the throne of her wonted majesty, rise for ever from the fall of her long prostration! Let her cast off the garment of widowhood and mourning, and put on the bridal purple! Let her head be adorned with the diadem of liberty, and her neck strengthened with collars! Let her resume the sceptre of justice, and, strong and regenerate in every virtue, like a fair-dressed bride, let her show herself to her bridegroom! May her priests and elders, her young and old matrons, her orphans and virgins, be raised, and with the whole Roman army, roused by the voice of salvation, on bended knees, with eyes fixed on heaven, and hands lifted to the stars, give thanks and sing glory to God in the highest with minds most cheerful and most devout. For behold the heavens are opened, and the glory of God, the light of God the Father of Christ has arisen; which, shedding upon us the rays of the Holy Spirit amidst the dark shadows of death, has prepared for us the grace of unexpected and wonderful brightness. Behold, indeed, the most merciful Lamb of God, confounding our sins, the most holy man, the Roman Pontiff, the Father of our city, the bridegroom and Lord, roused by the clamours and plaints and wailings of his bride, and compassionating her sufferings, disasters, and destructions, amazed at the regeneration of his city and exulation of the people, and at the gladness and salvation of the world, being also inspired by the Holy Spirit, and graciously opening the bosom of his clemency, has acquired for us grace and mercy, and promised redemption to the world, and forgiveness to sinners. For, after the honourable supplication of our Embassy, ordained, not by human but divine counsel

(inasmuch as it was sent after a mature deliberation of the Lords Cardinals, and of all the prelates of the Roman Senate, many and various tongues according with the divine will of the Holy Spirit, in discourses and masses celebrated in every Christian church), He (*the Pope*) did on the 27th day of this month, in a great assembly of the noble Roman people and army, then expecting the voice of grace, most solemnly, and in an oration truly angelical and full of salvation and gladness, proclaim and ordain a Jubilee by an Apostolic decree on the coming fiftieth year, and so on successively, assuming at the same time with gratitude the government of the city which was offered him, and accepting the visitation of the Apostolic Seat when the scandal of the French residence * shall have been put an end to: which offers he heard with an ineffable expression of speech, and countenance, and hands, and was in his decorous person, and indeed in all exterior appearances, animated beyond description.

Since, therefore, my dearest brethren, that miracle has been done in the presence of all of you, insomuch that your city, the bride of the Roman Pontiff, cleansed from the thorns of her vices, and regenerate in virtue, receives her bridegroom into the odours of her own vernal perfumes, we beseech you with ardent tears of joy to cast off your iron armour, to extinguish the flames of war, and with hearts cleansed of all your cherished desires, to accept these precious divine gifts, magnifying and extolling in hymns and psalms the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and offering our humble thanks to his successor our Lord the supreme Pontiff, by whom ye are regenerate and blessed for ever, through the divine grace poured forth from his lips: and do ye place his image, adorned with purple and gold, in the Amphitheatre, that the memory of the most merciful Father of his country, the founder and liberator of the Eternal City, may live renowned and survive all time. For what Scipio, what Cæsar, what Metellus, Marcellus, Fabius—names of ancient

* Avignon.

renown, and whom as liberators of their country we deem worthy of imperishable memory, and whose venerable and precious statues are admired as monuments of their virtue, and also for their splendour—who of them have adorned their country with so much glory? They indeed in arms, and amidst the hardships of war, and the miseries of mankind, and the blood and destruction of their fellow-citizens, obtained victories: but he, unsolicited, has prepared for our eyes and those of posterity triumphs immortal and safety to the state, by his word alone! Is it not he who, armed with spiritual weapons, warring against the present and future calamities of his country, has relieved the misery of nations made wretched and poor by the weakness of the Roman commonwealth, and has driven away from the despairing people the death which was ready for them, and has done all this by one most holy and triumphant word?

Let the Roman race, therefore, prefer the venerable memory of this their Father to the memory of all others; let the present people foretel, and let our rising posterity hope for another such! Finally let us honour your most holy city worthy of such great gifts, and strengthened with so great glory from above, and through which, my dearest brethren, it is not permitted for the nations to walk except the sandals of their vices be loosened, and their feet be clean and innocent, for verily the soil on which you stand and live is holy!

Lastly, I announce these glad tidings to you, that if our master the high Pontiff should receive a previous report of your purification by means of the divine grace, he will open the wings of his repeated clemency, and fly to visit his beloved city with the company of his Apostles quicker than the nations do expect.

Nicolas, the son of Laurentius, the Roman Consul, the only Legate of the people, for the Orphans, the Widows, and the Poor, to our master the supreme Pontiff, of his own will, and with his own hand.

Copia literarum, quas misit Tribunus Populo et Universitati Viterbii de obedientia, ac subsidio requisitis per eum pro republica gubernanda.

Auctore clementissimo Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Nicolaus, Severus et Clemens, Libertatis, pacis, justicieque Tribunus, et sacre Romane rei publice Liberator, nobilibus et prudentibus viris, Potestati, Capitaneo, Bonis Hominibus, Sindico, Consilio, et Communi Civitatis Viterbii in Tuscia constitutis, sacri Romani Populi filiis, et devotis, salutem, et cum reconciliacione Dei pacem et justiciam venerari.

Denunciamus vobis id gaudium Domini sancti Spiritus, quod pius Pater, et Dominus noster Jesus Christus in hac veneranda die festivitatis Pasche Pentecoste per inspiracionem sanctam hujus sancte urbis, et populo ejus, ac et vobis et omnibus fidelibus populis viris, qui nostra membra consistunt, dignatus est miseracorditer elargiri. Sane cum status ipsius alme urbis, et populi, ac tocius Romane Provincie pravorum, et crudelium rectorum et destructorum ipsius esset ex omni parte quassatus, in perdicionem, et miserabilem destrucionem jam *deducitur*, adeoque intime in eadem *alma* urbe *omnis erat* mortificata justicia, pax expulsa, prostrata libertas, ablata securitas, dampnata caritas, *misericordia* et devocio prophanate, quod nondum extranei et peregrini veri Christi cives Romani carissimi provinciales ad comitatum nostri nullatenus ibidem venire poterant, vel inibi remanere securi, quinmino oppressiones undique, sediciones, hostilitates, et guerre, distruciones animalium, incendia intus et extra, marique, continue effrenatissime penetrabantur, cum magnis ipsius sancte urbis, et totius Romane provincie periculis, jacturis et dampnis animarum, bonorum et corporum, et detrimento non modico totius fidei christiane heu! jam diminute, et quasi totaliter derelicte erant peregrinaciones, et visitaciones indulgenciarum et itinerum Sanctissimorum Apostolorum Petri, et Pauli civium, principumque nostrorum, et aliorum sanctorum Apostolorum quorum octo in eadem urbe corpora requiescunt, et sancto-

rum infinitorum Martyrum, atque virginum, in quorum sanguine ipsa sancta civitas est fundata; nec mirandum erat, quin ipsa sancta civitas, que ad consolacionem animarum constructa fuit, et que fidelium omnium debet esse refugium, facta erat offensionis silva, et spelunca latronum pocius quam civitas apparebat; vos etiam, et alii devoti populi nostri nullum ab ipsa urbe poteratis percipere consilium, auxilium, vel favorem, qui primo sub *specie* senatus, sub nomine capitaneatus, sub colore milicie eratis oppressi, et injuste sepius lacerati. Igitur prefatus Pater et Dominus noster Jesus Christus ad preces, ut credimus, Beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum, civium principum et custodum nostrorum, misericorditer excitatus, ad consolacionem non solum Romanorum civium, verum tocius nostre provincie *comitatum*, peregrinorum, et aliorum omnium fidelium Christianorum, ipsum Romanum populum inspiracione spiritus sancti ad veritatem, et concordiam revocavit, ad desiderium libertatis, justicie, inflammavit, et ad salutem, et defensionem suam, et nostram mirabiliter illustravit, et ad observacionem perpetuam bone voluntatis, sancte, et juste deliberacionis eorum: idem populus, nobis, licet *indigno*, plenam, et liberam potestatem, et auctoritatem reformandi, et conservandi statum pacificum dicte urbis, et tocius Romane provincie, ac liberum professus arbitrium commisit, et concessit in suo publico, et solempnissimo Parlamento, ac plena concordia tocius populi prelibati. Nos autem, licet ad supportacionem tanti oneris humeros nostros *insufficientes*, et debiles cognoscamus; tamen, apertissime cognoscentes, quod a Domino factum est istud, et est mirabilius in oculis nostris, et de gratia Dei, et beatorum Petri, et Pauli, ejus gratia, et favore confisi, ac de Romani populi nostris, et tocius Romane provincie sequelis, et suffragiis spem habentes, auctoritatem, et potestatem predictas devoto corde, et animo virili suscepimus, et ad reformacionem, et renovacionem justicie, libertatis, et securitatis, statusque pacifici prefate Romane urbis, ac totius provincie, oculos nostre mentis direximus, et prosequi *intendimus* viriliter, et potenter, secundum ordinem antique justicie, per virtutem juste, fortisque milicie moderacione:

Quapropter nobilitatem, prudenciam et devocionem vestram presentibus exhortamur, gratias reddatis altissimo salvatori, ac sanctissimis apostolis suis, quoniam in tempus afflictionis, et desperacionis propinaverunt Romano populo, ac nobis consolacionis remedium, ac salutis; suscipientes et participantes nobiscum hoc donum Dei cum magna leticia, gestis et gaudiis manifestis; necnon ad domandum protinus, et *proterendum* superbiam, et tirampnidem quoumcunque rebellium; credentes hunc vobis a Christo concessum impedire quomodolibet, vel turbare statum, propulsata campana communis, et preconibus destinatis sollicitatis populum, et commune ad *preparandum* se armis, equis, et ceteris opportunis ad exercitum, et destrucionem eorum, et exterminium manifestum, et sub protecione Dei, et vexillo sancte justicie cum manibus nostris, superbie et tirampnides confundentur, et libertas, pax, et justitia per totam Romanam provinciam reformetur. Nihilominus vobis tenore presentium, sub fide, legalitate, et pena arbitraria precipimus, et mandamus, quatenus infra tres dies post asignacionem presentium, mictatis ad nos duos syndicos, et ambaxiatores ydoneos vestra terre ad consilium, et Parlamentum, que intendimus in eis diebus in Romanorum commodo ad salutem, et pacem tocius nostre provincie celebrare: volumusque, et in signum caritatis et amoris presentibus postulamus, quatenus unum sapientum juris peritum, quem vos duxeritis eligendum, ad nos particulariter destinetis, quem ex nunc in *numero* judicum consistorii nostri cum salario, gagiis, et muneribus conjunctis pro sex mensibus deputamus. Datum in Capitolio, vigesimo quarto mensis Maii decima quinta indicione.*

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* This is marked fol. 166 in the Turin MSS., and was printed for the first time in the 'Historical Illustrations' of the 4th canto of 'Childe Harold.' It has not been thought worth while to make any attempt at emendations: the style and historical notices, not the language, being the principal object of publishing these letters. The absence of the diphthong is observable throughout the whole of the manuscript.

TRANSLATION.

Copy of the Letters which the Tribune sent to the People and University of Viterbo, concerning the Obedience and Assistance required from them in the Government of the Republic.

Under the authority of our most mericiful Lord Jesus Christ. Nicolas, the Severe and Merciful, of liberty, peace, and justice, the Tribune, and the Libèrator of the sacred Roman republic, to the Noble and Prudent Men, to the Podestà, to the Captain, to the Good Men, to the Sindic, to the Council, and to the constituted authorities of the Tuscan city of Viterbo, the devoted children of the Roman people, health, and, through the reconciliation of God, the love of peace and justice.

We announce to you the joy of the Lord the Holy Spirit, which, on the venerable day of the festival of the passover, our pious father and Lord, Jesus Christ, has vouchsafed in his mercy to bestow upon his people, and upon you and all the faithful who compose our members, through the holy inspirations of this sacred city. Verily, when the state of the cherished city itself, of the people, and the whole Roman province, was convulsed on every side, and reduced to perdition and wretched ruin by its depraved, and cruel, and destroying rulers — and justice was so inwardly death-stricken in the same city, tranquillity so expelled, liberty so prostrate, security so taken away, charity so injured, and piety and devotion so profaned, that the foreign pilgrims, the true citizens of Christendom, and our very dear Roman provincials, could not reach our convocations, or remain in them securely. But owing to the oppressions on every side, the seditions, hostilities, and wars, the ravage of living beings, the conflagrations which, within and without, upon the land and on the waters were continually raging, with great danger to the sacred city itself and of the whole Roman province, with the loss and destruction of soul, and body, and property, and with no small detriment to the whole

Christian faith, now, alas, decayed! the pilgrimages and the visitation for indulgences, and to the shrines of the most holy apostles, Peter and Paul, our citizens and chiefs, and of other holy apostles, eight of whose bodies rest in this city, and of innumerable holy martyrs and virgins, in whose blood the very city itself is founded, became as it were totally abandoned: nor was it to be wondered at that the holy city itself, which was made for the comfort of our souls, and should be the refuge of all the faithful, became a forest of crimes, and resembled a den of thieves more than a city: ye also and others of our devoted people were not able to obtain counsel, or assistance, or favour from the city, but were oppressed and oftentimes unjustly injured, first by what was called a Senate, then under the name of a Capitanate, and with the pretext of military service.

Wherefore our aforesaid Father and Lord Jesus Christ, moved with compassion, as we believe, by the prayers of the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, our chief citizens and guardians, hath (for the comforting not only of our Roman citizens, but of all the provinces and counties, and of all pilgrims and other faithful Christians) recalled this very Roman people to truth and concord by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and hath inflamed them with a desire of liberty and justice, and enlightened them for their security, for their own and our defence, and for the perpetual observance of good will, of holy and upright judgment. And this same people hath, of their own free will and unanimous accord in their public and most solemn parliament, granted and entrusted to us, though unworthy, full and free power and authority to reform and preserve the tranquil state of the said city and of the whole Roman province—and, notwithstanding we feel our shoulders insufficient and too weak for so great a load, yet, seeing most clearly that it is the work of the Lord, and is a miracle in our eyes, and trusting, through the grace of God and the blessed Peter and Paul, to his grace and favour, and relying on the followers and suffrages of the Roman people and of the whole Roman province, we have with a devout heart and manly resolution

taken upon ourselves the aforesaid authority and power, and have directed the eyes of our mind to the reform and regeneration of justice, liberty, security, and tranquillity of the aforesaid Roman city and whole province, and we will resolutely and strenuously follow up the order of ancient justice, by virtue of a constitutional and moderately strong army.

We therefore recommend it to your dignity, and prudence, and devotion, to return thanks to the most high Saviour and to his holy apostles, because that in the season of affliction and despair they have greeted the Roman people and us with comfort and salvation, partaking and participating with us in this gift of God with exceeding gladness and manifest signs of joy. We exhort you also to subdue and quell the pride, tyranny, and rebellion of those who think to harass and confound this state, granted us by Christ, in whatsoever manner it may be: do you by sounding the alarm bell, or by the public criers destined for that purpose, summon the people and Commune to equip themselves with arms, horses, and other warlike materials for the destruction of any such, and for their manifest extermination: so that under the protection of God, and the standard of holy justice in our hands, may their pride and usurpation be confounded, and liberty, peace, and justice, be reformed through the whole Roman province. We no less command and order, by the tenor of these presents, under your faith, loyalty, and for fear of such penalties as may seem fitting, that you send two proper Sindics and Ambassadors of your district to our council and parliament, which we mean to hold in these days, for the welfare of the Romans and the safety and tranquillity of our whole province: and we will, and by these presents do require, as a token of our affection and love, that you specifically appoint for us at least one wise man learned in the law, whom you shall deem eligible, and whom we, from this date, depute among the number of judges of our constitution, with the salaries, profits, and emoluments appertaining.

Given in the Capitol the 24th day of May, 15th indiction.

Responsio Domini Tribuni transmissa amico suo in Romana Curia commoranti, eo quod primo sibi scripserat, quod dicebatur per Curiam quod tempore preteriti volebat dimittere officium Tribunatus.

Amice Karissime. Inter causas alias, quibus multiplicitur vobis afficimur, continue obligamur, et tenemur vobis de frequentia literarum, quas nobis ita sollicite direxistis, et si ad *ea* non hucusque rescripsimus, non processit ex *alia* quam ex diversitate ardua, et arduitate diversa negociorum, quibus persona nostra continue occupatur. Scire tamen vos cupimus, et tenere certissimum, quod urbs sic reducta est ad statum, Spiritu Sancto faciente, pacificum, liberum, et felicem, quod non videntibus impossibile foret credi: nemo enim credere posset Romanum populum plenum dissidiis, hactenus sordidum omni genere viciorum, reductum ad tante unitatis effectum, ad tantumque amorem justicie, et *honeste* virtutis, et pacis in tanta temporis brevitate . . . . . domitis cessantibus odiis, percussionibus, homicidiis, et *rapinis*. Nec est in urbe qui ludo uti audeat taxillari; qui Deum, vel sanctos audeat *lacessire blasphemia;* nec laicus quispiam, qui teneat concubinam, inimicantes omnes gaudent; etiam leta pace uxores, diucius a viris abjecte, ad viros reducte sunt. Magnates, quibus inequa rerum communitas causam dissensionis prestabat, ad divisionem, et porcionem equalem; nec non et discordes omnes ad concordiam tempore isto nostri regiminis per Dei gratiam mirabiliter sunt reducti; et totus Romanus populus ad devocionem accensi plusquam nunquam fuerunt a nativitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi gloriosissimi. Quilibet suo gaudet, quilibet de suo vivere est contentus. Securi ad urbem veniunt qui solebant in urbis januis spoliari peregrini cujuslibet nationis. Pax viget, et floret securitas. Non sunt modo Castra Potentum, ut hactenus, spelunce latronum; nec retinent eos silve. Et novit Deus, cui omnia patent, quod non ambicio dignitatis, officii, fame, honoris, vel aure mundialis, quam semper abhorrui, sicut, cenum, sed

desiderium communis boni tocius reipublice hujusque sanctissimi status induxit nos colla submittere jugo adeo ponderoso . . . . nostris humeris non ab homine, sed a Deo, qui novit si officium istud fuit per nos precibus procuratum; si officia, beneficia, et honores consanguineis nostris contulimus; si nobis pecuniam cumulamus; si a veritate recedimus; si homines tenemus in verbis, si nobis, vel heredibus nostris facimus composiciones; si in ciborum dulcedine, aut voluptate aliqua delectamur; et si quidquam gerimus simulatum. Testis est nobis Deus de iis, que fecimus et facimus pauperibus, viduis, orphanis et pupillis. Multo vivebat quietius Cola Laurentius quam Tribunus. Sed pro huius loci beatus amore labores reputamus nobis singulos ad quietem, immo in testimonio Spiritus Sancti, et Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quorum causam prosequimur, et tuemur. Hora diei quietem sumere possumus; sed noctem addimus operi, et labori.

TRANSLATION.

Reply of the Lord Tribune sent to his friend in the Roman Court to that which he had written, mentioning the report that prevailed in the Court that, alarmed at what had happened, he was desirous of resigning the Tribuneship.*

Dearest Friend,

Amongst the other causes on account of which we are in innumerable ways affected towards you, we are continually obliged and beholden to you for the frequency of the letters which you have written to us; and if we have not hitherto replied to them, it has only proceeded from the difficult variety and various difficulty of the concerns with which our person is continually occupied.

We are desirous, however, that you should know and be assured that, by the influence of the Holy Spirit, the city

* At Avignon.

has been brought back to a state so tranquil, free, and happy, as to be incredible to those who do not witness it; for it is not to be believed that the Roman people, till now full of dissension, and corrupted by every description of vice, should be so soon reduced to a state of such unanimity, and to so great a love of justice, honourable virtue, and peace, and that hatred, assaults, murder, and rapine should be subdued and put an end to. Nor is there any person in the city who dares to play at forbidden games, nor to provoke God or his saints with blasphemy; there is no layman who keeps his concubine; all enemies are reconciled; and even wives, who had been long cast off, return to their husbands. The nobles, who had grounds of dissension in the unjust community of property, have consented to an equal division and proportion; all the discontented, through the grace of God, are wonderfully brought to contentment in this period of our government, and the whole Roman people has been animated to a devotion, such as has never been witnessed since the nativity of our most glorious Lord Jesus Christ. Every man enjoys his own: every man is content to live on his own. Pilgrims of every nation, who used to be plundered at the gates of the city, now come to us in safety. Peace blossoms forth, and security flourishes. The castles of the nobles are not as hitherto dens of thieves; nor do our woods abound with robbers. And God, by whom all things are seen, knows that no ambition for dignity, office, fame, honour, or worldly favour, which I have always abhorred like dirt, but anxiety for the general good of the Republic, and of this holy state, induced us to submit our neck to so ponderous a yoke, placed upon our shoulders not by man but by God, who can testify whether this office was put upon us at our own entreaties; whether we have conferred places, benefits, or honours upon our relations; whether we have heaped up money for ourselves; whether departed from truth; whether we have held men together by words only; whether we compound for ourselves or our heirs; whether we are fond of luxury in our food, or of any

voluptuousness; and whether we have done any thing with hypocrisy. God is our witness of what we have done, and are doing, for the poor—for the widows, and for the orphans, and all the young. Cola the son of Laurence lived much more tranquilly than Cola the Tribune: but for the love which we bear to this place, we consider all our labours are for its tranquillity, and for this we appeal to the witness of the Holy Spirit, and the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, whose cause we follow and defend. At the hour of day we can take rest, but the night we give to labour and study.

Primum Membrum presentis Litere.

Ad id autem, quod scribitis audivisse, quod inceptum jam *terreri*, scire vos facimus, quod sic Spiritus Sanctus, per quem dirigimur, et *movemur*, facit animum nostrum fortem, quod ulla discrimina non timemus; immo si totus mundus, et homines sancte fidei christiane, et perfidiarum hebraice, et pagane contrariarentur nobis, non propterea terremur. Nobis enim propositum est cum reverencia Dei, et Sancte Matris Ecclesie, et pro amore, et cultu justicie velle mori. Talis autem timoris opinio, qui nunquam cecidit nec cadere poterit in cor nostrum, potuit fortasse procedere ex eo, quod, dum pridem, in concilio peterimus, quod istud officium in diversas personas singulis tribus mensibus mutaretur, illi, qui in concilio erant aceratis pre tristitia vestibus, omnes conclamantes lacrimabiliter responderunt, dicentes aut quod iste status sanctissimus decidat, et regimen istud ad aliud deveniret, singuli moriamur, ita quod illud, quod faciebamus causa virtutis, adscripsit nobis alienа ignorancia ad timorem. Nec id ob aliud petebamus, nisi ne causa nostri ad perpetuitatem officii aspirare aliquatenus crederemur.

TRANSLATION.

First Part of this Letter.

With regard to what you mention as having heard, that we had begun to be frightened, we give you to know that the Holy Spirit, which governs and cherishes us, so fortifies our mind that we fear no perils—nay, if the whole world, both people of the holy Christian faith, and perfidious Jews and Pagans should oppose, we would not therefore be dismayed; for it is our intention and desire, with all due reverence to God and our Holy Mother Church, to die for the love and maintenance of justice.

But is it probable that such mention of terror, which never did, and never can, reach our heart, arose from this circumstance, that when we proposed in council that this office should be changed and given to different persons every three months, those who were present, tearing their garments in sadness, and weeping, began to exclaim, that "the Good Estate itself would perish, that the government would undergo a change, and all would be slain"—so that what we did out of our love of virtue, the ignorance of others hath ascribed to fear. And we only desired this measure that we might not be thought in any way, on our own account, to aspire to hold this office in perpetuity.

Secundum Membrum.

Vos etiam cupimus non latere, quod Joannes de Vico, olim prefectus *fricida* (*fratricida*) et proditor vocatus, et expectatus diutius, venire noluit ad mandata; propter quod contra eum direximus nostrum victoriosum exercitum, qui jam occupavit Vetrallam, et Viterbium tenet obsessum, quod continue devastatur. Omnes quoque Tuscie Civitates miserunt jam in servitio nostro, et Romani Populi in dictum

nostrum exercitum auxilia gentis sue. Omnes hoc statu letantur, omnes Romano populo favent contra proditorem prefatum. Soli rectores Patrimonii, et Campanie assistunt, et subfavent proditori qui aliter fuerant sui hostes; de quo etsi dolemus, sine causa nos tractari indebite ab eisdem, altiori tamen in mente peragimus, quod proinde turbabuntur omnia corda Romanorum. Videtur enim eis in culpas ipsorum Rectorum non solum ab eis, sed a Domino nostro Summo Pontifice recipere lesionem; dicunt quidam: nos Domini nostri summi Pontificis in auxiliis *sperabamus*, et officiales suos ita nobis contrarios experimur, quod non sit sine aliquali infamia Domini prelibati: fratisque germani dicti Comitis Campanie cum quatuor banneriis equitum, et cum gente Regis Ungarie invadentis Regnum Sicilie in Aquila contra Reginam Joannam, et Dominum nostrum summum Pontificem; Nec obmittemus, quod tanta est circa hunc statum vicinarum bona dispositio civitatum, quod viginti sex denarios antique parve monete, valentes nunc Carleñum unum, et denarios quatuor parvos, petitos ab eis pro quolibet focolari, libenter exsolvunt, videntes nos ipsam pecuniam, et aliam pro defensione personarum, et rerum suarum in stipendia *militie* convertisse, quamvis Rectores ipsi hoc visi fuerint impedire; et illi, a quibus pecuniam ipsam non petimus, dolent quodammodo, et spontanee solvunt illam, ne a defensione nostra videantur exclusi. Igitur nulla nos cura sollicitat, si, Deo exeunte nobiscum, nobis homines *adversari* contingat; et spem nostram in Deo posuimus; de auxiliis hominum non curamus. Legisse namque recolimus, et vidisse virum in suâ, et hominis potentia confidentem sucumbere, et quod humana auxilia in ejus, ad cujus sunt parata favorem, sepe in confusionem sint solita torqueri. Quidquid igitur nobis objicitur, quasi mane . . . . . reputamus, existentes certi, quod quanto plus hic status sanctissimus impugnatur in terris ab homine, in celis roboratur plus a Deo, qui quod ipse dignatus est misericorditer stabilire, non patitur per homines infirmari.

TRANSLATION.

Second Member.

We are also desirous that it should not be concealed from you that John de Vico (formerly prefect), fratricide and traitor, though called and expected a long time, would not come to our summons: we have, therefore, sent against him our victorious army, which hath occupied Vetralla, and keeps Viterbo, which is incessantly laid waste, in siege. All the Tuscan states also in our service, and the Roman people, have sent auxiliaries from their own people to our said army. All rejoice in this proceeding, all assist the Roman people against the aforesaid traitor. But the governors of the Patrimony* and of Campania, who were formerly his enemies, connive with the traitor, which, although it sorely grieves us that we should be treated so unworthily, yet are we more deeply affected, because the hearts of all our Romans will be troubled thereat: for it is their belief that, owing to the offence of these governors, they are not only injured by those lords themselves, but also by their lord the Pope himself; for, say they, we trusted in the assistance of our lord the Pope, and now we see his officers are against us, and against us to the discredit, in some degree, of the same lord the Pope, and of the brother of the Count of Campania, invading with four *banners* of horse, and with the people of the king of Hungary, the kingdom of Sicily, *in Aquila*, in prejudice of Queen Joanna and of our sovereign lord the Pope. Nor will we omit, that such is the good disposition of the cities near this state, that they willingly pay twenty-six pence of the ancient small money (now worth a carline) and four small pence which are demanded of them for each hearth: for they see that we convert this and other money into stipends

* A part of the Roman states called the Patrimony of St. Peter.

for soldiers for the defence of their persons and property, and notwithstanding the governors themselves would hinder this tribute, those from whom we have not demanded contribution are in some measure disappointed, and offer it of their own accord, that they may not appear excluded from our protection.

We are, therefore, under no apprehensions if men should become our adversaries, whilst God goes out with us: and we have placed our reliance on God, not caring for the help of man. For we recollect to have read of and have seen such as trusted to human powers succumb, and human aid is wont to be turned to the confusion of him for whose help it was prepared.

Let us, therefore, consider what is objected to us as . . . . . being certain that the more this holy state is assailed on earth by men, the more it is fortified in heaven by God, who does not permit that what he has pitifully vouchsafed to establish, should be loosened by the hand of man.

Tercium Membrum.

Ad disconsolacionem nostram illud novum accidit, quod, tenentibus nobis in carcere singulos potents de hujus status *impedicione* suspectos, et cum eis nuperrime Lucam de Sabello, *Vicarius* Domini nostri Pape, aut timore ipsius Luce perterritus, vel aliis tirampnidum dolis flexus, credentium ad turbacionem hujus santi status preter istas non posse unam aliam invenire causam, querit de capitolio recedendi: nec unquam in aliquo volumus, ob Domini nostri summi Pontificis reverenciam, *ejus* honoribus, et beneplacitis deviare; de quo etiam Romanus Populus est admiracione, et *dolore* commotus, dum singulos officiales Domini nostri summi Pontificis, aliquos malacia, aliquem negligencia obviare prospiciunt huic sancto statui, et quieti. Sed frustra tumescunt maria, frustra venti *furunt*, frustra ignis crepitat,

et inanes resolvuntur in favillas contra hominem in Domine confidentem, qui, sicut Mons Syon, non poterit commoveri: nec obmittimus, quod Comes Campanie cum aliquibus tirampnis *damnabilibus*, machinatus procuravit tres Bannerias equitum a se dolose removere, quasi renunciasset eisdem, et ipsi venientes ad nostra stipendia, debebant nos occidere, prout inter eos fuerat ordinatum. Sed Deus, defensor noster, de eorum manibus nostram innocentiam liberavit. Sciatis eciam ad despectum, et dedecus Joannis de Vico, nequissimi proditoris, recepimus a Romano Populo officium Prefecture urbis ad gaudium, subjungentes, quod in Dei nomine in Kalendis Augusti proxime futuro die Pontificali, ac Imperiali intendimus per Romanum Populum, Spiritus Sancti gratia, ad militiam promoveri, et sic existentes Spiritus Sancti Miles, in festo gloriose Virginis Marie ejusdem mensis, Tribunicia laurea, quam Tribuni antiquitus assumebant disposuimus coronari, mores eorum imitari eciam non verebamur, *qui ab aratris* ad officia promoti videbantur.

De iis omnibus informatis reverendum Patrem Dominum F. de filiis Ursis Domini Papi Notarii, qui nobis quam plurimum ascripsit, nec habuimus adhuc sibi copiam rescribendi. Et excusatis nos ei, quod si modo non scribimus, est enim propter festinanciam hujus occurrentis; vos quoque kalidissime studeatis et vestrum reditum festinare, quia vobis providimus de officio honorabili, atque bono; scientes, quod non de facili, non simonia, non precibus, et instancia aliena officiales assumimus, sed opinione virtutis viros probos ad officia promovemus.

Datum in Capitolio, in quo, regnante justicia, recto corde vigemus, die decimaquinta Julii, decimaquinta indicione, liberate rei publice anno primo.*

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* The foregoing letter has never been published: it is marked fol. 175, 176 of the Turin MSS.

TRANSLATION.

Third Part.

It has lately happened to our discomfort, that, whilst we held in prison certain princes suspected of opposition to this state, and amongst them very recently Luca of Sabello, the Vicar of our lord the Pope, either overcome with terror of the said Luke, or influenced by the treachery of usurpers (who could find no other means of disturbing this holy state) is seeking to quit the Capitol: nor would we ever do anything contrary to his dignity and wishes out of the reverence we bear our lord the Pope, towards whom also the Roman people are moved with wonder and grief on beholding the officers of our lord the supreme Pontiff endangering the tranquillity of this holy state, some from malice, others by negligence.

But the billows swell in vain—in vain the winds rage, and in vain the fires crackle and are dissipated into empty sparks against the man who puts his trust in God, who is as immoveable as Mount Sion. We do not omit that the Count of Campania with certain damnable tyrants has contrived that three banners of horse should leave his party by stealth as if he had renounced them, and come into our pay for the purpose of slaying us, as had been determined amongst them. But God, our defender, has saved our innocence out of their hands.

Know, also, that in contempt and to the disgrace of John de Vico, that most wicked traitor, we have received from the Roman people the prefectureship, to the joy of the city, and that, through the Roman people and the grace of the Holy Spirit, we in the name of God on the pontifical and imperial day of the approaching kalends of August do intend to be promoted to the knighthood; and thus having become a knight of the Holy Ghost, we have arranged that we shall be crowned on the festival of the glorious Virgin Mary, in the same month, with the Tribunician Laurel,

which the tribunes assumed of old, not fearing to imitate their customs, who were promoted from the plough to high duties.

You will tell all these things to the reverend lord father Orsini,* the notary of our lord the Pope, who wrote to us much at large, and we have not yet had an opportunity of replying to him; and you will excuse us to him that if we do not now write, it is by reason of these events. You also will eagerly endeavour to hasten your return, because we are looking out for some honourable and good office for you, knowing that we do not easily, nor by simony, appoint our officers, nor at the intreaties and instance of other persons, but promote honest men approved for their virtuous characters.

Given in the Capitol, where in this reign of justice we flourish in upright heart, on the 15th day of July, the 15th indiction, and 1st year of the freedom of the republic.

Copia litterarum missarum per Tribunum urbis ad Dominum Papam excusando se ab inimicis occultis, narrans etiam aliqua contra Comitem Fondorum.

Sanctissime Pater, et clementissime Domine, ne dolosarum linguarum astucia, a quibus . . . . . liberari, vestra clemencia *quatenus* non facilis, imo impossibilis, sicut reor, verbis inclinari fallacibus, cum sit scriptum omni sermoni non esse credendum, suspectum teneat tamen de cognicione mee puritatis auditum, presens litera sanctitati vestre transmittitur veri nuncia, *mendacii* inimici et dolo obvia alicujus, qui ex acuta lingua ut gladio in jaculatum sagittarum nititur in occulto, cujus *innata* et inveterata nequicia non participio status, et honoris ecclesie ipsum facit im-

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* This was Raynaldo degli Orsini, the same to whom the long letter is addressed which is given in Hocsemius.

meritum, verum efficit suscepcione aule vestre sanctitatis indignum. Noverit igitur sanctitatis vestre benignitas, me humilem servum vestrum in festo beatissime Marie Virginis de presenti mense Augusti fuisse per manus Preceptoris Hospitalis sancti spiritus, et Vicariorum ecclesiarum cathedralium urbis antiquitus solita dari tribunis laurea coronatum: videlicet sex coronis, quarum quinque fuerunt frondee, secundum Romanorum antiquum institutum, dari augentibus rem publicam consuete, et sexta fuit argentea, que valorem quinque florenorum auri non excedit; et post ipsarum susceptionem sex hujusmodi coronarum pomum recepi per manus Syndici Romani Populi milicie signatum, que devote suscipiens ad memoriam sex donorum Spiritus Sancti ab ejusdem largitate alui, et sub sancte Romane Ecclesie, et Sanctitatis vestre reverencia recognovi, in quibusque suscipiendis nulla perpetuabitur auctoritas *in consensu, sive licentia nulla fuit Pontificalis oportuna potestas curie.* Non in pleno, at plenissimo publico parlamento, de assensu tocius Romani Populi, et aliorum quamplurium omnium fere civitatum Tuscie Syndicorum Ecclesie Zelo fratres, omnes homines civitatum, in quibus etiam cardinalium tituli, et bona eorum ab omni vassalagio liberavi, cives Romanos *effeci* et reduxi ad vestrum dominium, Dominorum Cardinalium, quorum in eis non modicum jurisdicio lesa erat, adversis potentibus vestre urbis. Item quod nullus Imperator, Rex, Princeps, Marchio, sive quovis alio censitus nomine cum gente audeat in Italiam mittere sine vestre Sanctitatis, vel Romani Populi licencia speciali; ad que me induxit pura, quam habeo ad Ecclesiam, sancta fides, et desiderium pacis, et quietis Italie, atque Regni. Item quod nemo detestabilia nomina Guelfum, et Guibellinum tanti jam proh dolor! Christiani sanguinis *estuaria*, audeat per totam Italiam nominare, sed, omni . . . . . deposita, fidelem *sexorem* sancte Ecclesie in unitate, et pace, ... asserat, et cognoscat. In quibus, et aliis per me gestis, si aliquid potest reputari Ecclesie sancte contrarium, que per universum pacem decantant, et predicant, relinquo vestre judicio sanctitatis, cupiens anxie,

et non ficte, quod dignetur vestra sanctitas mittere aliquem virum Dei, ut de singulis, que peregi, voluntate vestri Romani Populi *discuciat*, et inquirat; et si forte mali quo me inculpat repcriat, ante pedes vestros venturum me obligo, pena qualibet, juxta sanctitatis vestre justiciam sine misericordia puniendus. Nec vestram clemenciam lateat, quod contra hostem Ecclesie, atque vestrum Nicolaum Gartanum, olim Fondorum comitem, per exercitum victoriosum procedo viriliter, paratis opportunis, et jam misi Cancellarium, urbis Angelum Malabreme in ostensionem terrarum Comitis prelibati cum equitibus quadringentis *positis* in campo feliciter, cum Spiritus Sancti gratia, et favore, uttra duodecim centenaria equitum strenuorum cum balistariis, et hominibus aliis infinitis, et quod ipsum spero faciliter conculcare, quod nunquam . . . . . ut resurgat. Cujus exercitus Joannem natum Stephani de Columpna, Principem milicie ordinavi. Et quod in iis partibus cepit indere aliqua, licet modica carestia, cui adhibui, et adhibeo proposse remedia, procurans de Sicilie partibus granum defferri facere, ac eciam aliunde, et terras Romani districtus, quarum diu inculta pars maxima jacuit, reduci faciens ad culturam; et per concessionem Jubilei nisi provideatur aliter posset excrescere, dum multi de diversis mundi partibus Romam perperam confluent, multique granum procurabant abscondere.*

Cetera desiderantur.

Translation.

Copy of the Letters sent by the Tribune of the City to the Lord the Pope, defending himself from his secret Enemies, and mentioning certain things against the Count of Fondi.

Most holy Father, and most merciful Lord, lest through the craftiness of deceitful tongues, from which even . . . . .

* This letter is not in Hocsemius: it is marked fol. 167 of the Turin MSS.

would desire to be delivered, your clemency, hitherto not easy, nay, as I suppose, impossible to be turned from me by fallacious words (for it is written we are not to credit everything we hear), may not hold me suspected, notwithstanding the known proofs of my purity, this present letter is sent to your Holiness to declare the truth, to oppose falsehood, and to repel the craft of any person who darts arrows from his sharp tongue, like a secret sword, and whose innate and inveterate vice renders him unworthy not only of all dignity and honour in the state, but even of being received into the court of your Holiness.

Your Holiness will have known that on the festival of the most blessed Virgin Mary, in this present month of August, your humble servant received from the hands of the preceptor of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, and of the vicars of the cathedral churches of the city, the laurel crown which was wont of old to be given to the tribunes, consisting of six crowns, five of which were of natural leaves, given, according to an old Roman custom, to persons who had advanced the commonwealth, and the sixth of silver, not exceeding the value of five gold florins; and that, after taking the above six crowns, I received also from the hand of the Sindic the apple, the ensign of the army of the Roman people; all which, devoutly taking in memory of the six gifts of the Holy Ghost, I cherished as a token of his bounty, and in acknowledgment of my reverence for the most holy Roman church and of your Holiness. And in the reception of these *there will be no perpetual assumption of authority; nor was there any infraction of the power of the court of Rome.** In the full, or rather in the complete public parliament, and with the assent of the whole Roman people, very many of the Sindics of all the cities of Tuscany, brothers in Christian zeal, and all those of the cities which give titles to cardinals, were not only freed from all vassalage as to their property, but were declared by me

* This appears untranslatable.

Roman citizens, and were brought back to your authority, and to that of my lords the cardinals, whose rights had received manifest injury, in consequence of the inimical nobles of this your city. Also, that no emperor, or king, or prince, or marquis, or any other, under whatever title, may dare to put foot in Italy, without the special licence of your Holiness, or of the Roman people; to which I was induced by that pure and holy faith which I bear to the Church, and by the desire of peace and of the quiet of Italy, and of the kingdom at large. Also, that no one may for the future dare to mention the detested names of Guelf and Ghibeline; but, laying aside all party distinctions, assert and acknowledge the power of the . . . . . of the Holy Church, in unity and peace.' In all which, and other things by me done, if there be anything that can be esteemed contrary to Holy Church, seeing that they proclaim and preach universal peace, I leave to the judgment of your Holiness; desiring anxiously and unfeignedly that your Holiness would deign to send hither some man of God to discuss and inquire into all those things which I have done by the will of your Roman people; and if the said shall find any of that evil in me with which I am charged, I do oblige myself, under any penalty, to be punished without mercy according to the justice of your Holiness. Nor let it be unknown to your clemency that against the enemy of the Church, and of yourself, Nicholas Gartanus, formerly Count of Fondi, I am now proceeding manfully with a victorious army, and have already sent before me Angelo Malabreme, the chancellor of the city, to make an incursion into the lands of the said Count, with four hundred knights well arrayed for battle, with the grace and power of the Holy Spirit, besides twelve hundred other horsemen with slingers, and an infinite number of other soldiers; who, as I hope, will easily tread him under foot, so that he shall never again rise. Of which army I have appointed John the son of Stephen Colonna, prince of the soldiery; and because there is in those parts a commencing scarcity, although to no great extremity, I

have resorted, and, as far as I am able, do now resort, to certain remedies; enacting that grain shall be imported from Sicily and from other countries, and ordaining that many lands of our Roman district, the greater part of which have long lain uncultivated, shall now be again sown; for I am aware that otherwise this scarcity may increase, owing to the granting of the jubilee, which will bring such multitudes from all quarters to Rome, and because many have found means to amass and conceal the grain.

The rest is wanting.

Since the appearance of these Letters, in 1818, a discovery was made of certain documents which were published for the first time in 1841 at Hamburgh. They were edited by a learned German, Dr. Papencordt, in a work called 'Cola di Rienzi and his Times, chiefly from unpublished documents.' I have not seen the book itself, but have read what seems a masterly summary of it in the 'Quarterly Review' for March, 1842. The Letters of Rienzi addressed, during his residence in Bohemia, to Charles IV., Emperor of Germany, and to the Archbishop of Prague, certainly add some new details to the strange history of the Tribune, but they do not appear to alter in any material degree the previous estimate of his character. They do not make him a better or a wiser man than he is usually thought to have been—rather the contrary; but they illustrate the character of the age and country in which Rienzi rose and fell. Under no other circumstances of time, place, and manners, could such an impostor have met even with temporary success.

(B.)

ESSAY ON THE

PRESENT LITERATURE OF ITALY.

(PUBLISHED IN 1818.)

IT is the boast of the Italians that their literature has flourished with unequal but uninterrupted brilliancy from the thirteenth century to the present day.

The progress of time alone would naturally have produced and obliterated many innovations, but the frequent domestic revolutions, the repeated irruptions, the arms and the arts of strangers, succeeding each other rapidly and imperceptibly, and bringing with them new laws, and manners, and opinions, have occasioned in Italy more vicissitudes than are to be found in the literature of any other country. Thus it is that their critics have been able to point out at least ten different epoques when it has assumed certain characteristics, or, to use a single word, a physiognomy, altogether distinct from that of any preceding or subsequent period. The average duration assigned to each of these epoques has been laid down at about half a century. This is the utmost length that any individual taste and mode of writing can be discovered to have prevailed.

The above remark is purposely premised to a short account which it is intended to give of the present state of Italian literature; that is to say, of the character of the actual epoque, which embraces not only those writers at present in existence, but others who have powerfully contributed to form the taste and the tone which will continue

to prevail until succeeded by another revolution in the republic of letters. The latter Italian authors may be expected to form a diversity more distinct than those of any other generation, when it is recollected that, whilst they wrote, the most extraordinary change was prepared and consummated that had ever affected the moral or political world. That the great convulsions which shook not only "mightiest monarchies," but also the mind of man, in all the countries of Europe, should communicate itself to these authors was inevitable, and will be discovered in the works, the principles, the character, and the estimation of the most celebrated amongst them, whom it is proposed to examine and pourtray. These authors will be their poets; who are selected, first, because the verse of every country is the depository of the language, the taste, and the manners of the times; secondly, because this is found more particularly the case in those nations whose imagination is their predominant faculty; and, in the third place, because the writers chosen on this occasion are in part distinguished for their compositions in prose.

This method of illustration might be liable to objections in any other country than Italy, where the few men of superior genius are separated from the crowd of writers by a barrier which, in other nations, is rarely visible until posterity has pronounced the final decision. In Italy the judgment is in some sort formed and given by their contemporaries; and thus, although the struggle to attain the eminence may be more serious and protracted, there is less danger of future degradation.

An intimate acquaintance is, however, requisite to perceive the difference between the esteemed and the popular author; for, otherwise, the above-mentioned singularity of Italian literature would be reduced to a shade only of distinction from that of other countries. A book may be in the hands of all readers, and, during some years, be the study and the talk of all. This was the case with the *Animali parlanti* of Casti, but the author had no pretence or right to renown. On the other hand, a work which few

comparatively shall peruse, because every one cannot understand, having obtained the suffrages of those distinguished above the common class of readers, acquires for the author an established name, which the people themselves are soon taught to repeat with respect, although entirely ignorant or insensible of the specific merit which has obtained their applause. Such esteem may be compared to the blind honours conferred upon a successful general by the mass of the people, who wish no other signal or reason for their shouts than the gazette, but it is not less devoted and sincere.

If we endeavour to account for this characteristic in the literature of Italy, a partial, or perhaps a sufficing, reason may be found in the difference between countries like England and France, and one in which, as there is no single capital, there are, comparatively speaking, none of those court intrigues, none of those party passions, none of those fashionable cabals and tribunals, which are called into play and employed in Paris and London in deciding the fate of authors. It is not that there are no reviews composed by the personal enemies or friends of the respective writers; it is not that fashion has no voice; but the injustice of criticism or the folly of a coterie, which may sway the public opinion for awhile in one of the great cities, is inevitably corrected before it has run through the mass of disinterested readers, and travelled the wide circle of Venice, Bologna, Parma, Verona, Milan, Turin, Florence, Naples, and Rome. The same instances of undeserved neglect and elevation may be found in each of those towns as are the constant complaint throughout the vast extent of our own country. But even in any single capital the error is more speedily corrected by the justice of many rival, or, what is better, impartial neighbours; and, speaking of the whole of Italy, there cannot be an instance of that rapid rise, and as sudden precipitation, of which we have seen so many examples in our times, and which are to be attributed solely to what we call the fashion of the day. You do not even hear the

expressions usual with us applied to their national writers. The favourite of *the town* would be an absurd solecism in a country where there are twenty towns with distinct literary interests and pretensions, and where the attachment of one city secures the opposition of another; nor, as it has been before mentioned, can some of the most established authors be said to be most *in vogue*, for they are certainly not the most read.

A reviewer may irritate the public curiosity, a lady of high rank may give a letter of recommendation, but neither the one nor the other can raise those phantoms of fashion, who, although they come and depart like shadows, walk the whole round of our united kingdoms with all the honours and attributes of substantial existence.

If, then, we find any living author enjoying very nearly the same character in all the provinces of Italy, we can safely prognosticate that he has received his final estimation—that the just appreciation of his merits alone having raised him, will prevent him from ever sinking into total neglect; that he has become one of the national writers, subject, indeed, to the fluctuations which, as it has been before remarked, affect more especially the literature of Italy, but always to be ranked amongst the *classics* of his country.

The above circumstance furnishes the foreigner with a criterion not found in other countries: his survey is facilitated by being contracted to a narrower space; and when he has collected the judgment pronounced upon a very few, he need not embarrass himself with the multitude of writers, but be assured that he has seized the traits that are at present, and will always be esteemed, characteristic of the literature of the age. Of the writers, then, whose influence may be more or less discerned in the formation of the present taste and style, it may be sufficient to enumerate six: Melchior Cesarotti, Joseph Parini, Victor Alfieri, Hippolitus Pindemonte, Vincent Monti, and Hugo Foscolo. The three first are, it is true, no longer

alive,* but they clearly belong to the present day, and are no less to be taken into an actual survey than their surviving contemporaries. There is nothing bold in pronouncing that these are decidedly the authors of the day; but it is an endeavour of great difficulty and no little danger to attempt to show the specific reputation which each of them enjoys, and to describe their respective performances so as to give, on the whole, the acknowledged result of their effects upon the opinions of their countrymen. Such an effort has, however, been made in the following sketches of these distinguished Italians, and so much of their biography has been added as appeared serviceable in illustrating the motives that inspired, and the occasions that called forth, their various compositions.

Cesarotti.

Melchior Cesarotti was a Paduan, and died, in extreme old age, in the year 1808. Bold, fruitful, eloquent, and deeply versed in ancient and modern literature, this writer impressed his readers with the conviction of his genius; and yet, although he resembled no one of his predecessors or contemporaries, there was something more of novelty than originality in all his compositions.

He was brought up in the ecclesiastical seminary of Padua, which prides itself, and with some justice, on the constancy and success with which it has preserved the latinity of the purer ages. Indeed, the Latin verses of Cesarotti are a proof no less of his talents than of the merit of this celebrated institution, which, had he continued to pursue the same studies, would have produced a new rival of Vida or Fracastorius. But he no sooner entered into holy orders and quitted the seminary than he declared war against the poets of antiquity, and more especially of

* All of them now have been long dead.—1858.

Greece. An Englishman passing through Venice made him acquainted with Ossian, at that time the delight, or at least the wonder, of the transalpine critics, and Cesarotti lost no time in translating it into blank-verse, accompanying his version with notes, for the most part, against Homer. Ossian delighted the Italians, who did not, generally speaking, embarrass themselves with the examination of the authenticity of the pretended epic. Palmieri of Placentia, and a few others, ventured to contest the antiquity of the poet, but the mass of readers, seduced by the authority of Blair, or by their inclination to be pleased with their Italian Ossian, were resolved to discover the genuine son of Fingal in the spurious offspring of Macpherson. Some there were who still defended the heroes of the old school, and exclaimed against a precedent fatal to the reputation of the ancient models and to the purity of the modern language. But they read the work and they admired the translator. His verses, in truth, are harmonious, are soft, are imbued with a colouring, and breathe an ardent spirit altogether new; and, with the same materials, he has created a poetry that appears written in a metre and a language entirely different from all former specimens. His superiority was evinced by the want of success in those who endeavoured to imitate him, and whose exaggerations and caricatures were received with a ridicule that, by little and little, was attached to their model and partially diminished his fame. The translation of Ossian will, however, be always considered as an incontrovertible proof of the genius of Cesarotti and of the flexibility of the Italian tongue.

The reputation into which he thus leapt, as it were, at once, encouraged him to still bolder innovations; and being raised to the Greek professorship in his own university of Padua, he translated Demosthenes and others of the Greek orators, subjoining criticisms full of learning and ingenuity, the chief aim of which was to convince the world that the veneration with which they read those orators was

derived more from their antiquity than their intrinsic excellence.

His next work was a translation of the Iliad. But the magic of his Ossian was not transfused into his Italian Homer.

This work is in ten large octavo volumes: each book is translated literally into Italian prose, and almost every passage is illustrated by the compared opinions of the critics of every nation, from Aristarchus to those of our own days. He *invariably* cites the adversaries of Homer, and *often* opposes them with the partisans of the poet. When he subjoins his own decision, it very rarely inclines to the favour of his original.

To every book thus translated and commented upon he adds his own poetical version, which, as it was intended to correct the errors discovered in the original, changes, omits, and transfers from one book to another whole passages of the text. These alterations were so many and so material that, in the end, he resolved to change the title of the poem, and his Iliad reappeared as the 'Death of Hector.'

The bold style and the harmonious numbers of this version procured for it many readers, and the work was applauded by a public accustomed to admire the author. The journalists, who in Italy are frequently without learning, and almost always without genius, exalted the translation as an extraordinary and successful effort, and the harmony of the blank verse of the 'Death of Hector' became in a short time proverbial. But some few literary men of real merit and discernment, whose voice it is much more difficult totally to suppress in Italy than in any other country, prognosticated that the work, at some future day, would be more frequently cited than read. Their prophecy is now fully verified.

In his treatise on the Italian language, Cesarotti stepped forward to defend the privilege assumed by certain authors of enriching, by new words and combinations, their native language. His positions are undeniable, his observations

profound, and his deductions exceedingly just. The didactic form of his treatise has not deprived it of the elegance necessary for the attraction of his readers. The style is precise, yet ornamented, and very few authors have so happily combined the language of evidence and of metaphysical disquisition; very few have made a grammatical discussion so alluring, or have arrayed materials so abstruse in eloquence so engaging. This is the only work of Cesarotti's that has preserved its original reputation up to this day. The author himself abused, however, the privilege which he claimed for all writers; and in one of the reviews then most esteemed in Italy, it was asserted that the preacher of liberty had awakened a spirit of licentiousness, and yet might easily raise himself to the dictatorship.* The truth was, that Cesarotti was, by his partisans, regarded as infallible, and was the terror of his opponents, whose censure was confined to the adoption of a practice contrary to his powerful example.

His prose is endowed with all the qualities that constitute a superior writer. The depth is no obstacle to the clearness of his ideas; his manner is free, his phraseology abundant, his periods are harmonious. He is lively, yet graceful; he is not so copious as to be tedious, nor so brief as to be obscure; he is full of pleasantry, which never degenerates into affectation, or is applied to the purposes of malicious controversy. But those who were obliged, had they not been willing, to discover these excellencies in Cesarotti, were relieved from unqualified admiration, by finding that all of them were spoilt and rendered inefficient; in the first place, by the intemperate and systematic use of *gallicisms;* and, secondly, by their being lost upon discourses either critical or metaphysical, and such as could not interest the general reader. It was in his power to

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* "Predicando la libertà letteraria aveva suscitato la licenza e però gli fu facile ad erigersi in dittatore."—See *Annali di Scienze e Lettere*, an. 1811, Numero iii. article on the Odyssey.

have furnished a model of the oratorical style in his translation of Demosthenes; but his deliberate purpose, and all his efforts in this work, were directed to fritter down his original, and with this unaccountable design he has affected a style scrupulously *Cruscan* and pedantic.

His 'Familiar Letters,' published after his death, have discovered to us an excellence and a defect that might not be collected from his other writings; for they show him to have been an indulgent encourager of the talents of others, as well as very liberal of his own information; but at the same time he appears so over prodigal of his praises as to incur the suspicion of premeditated flattery.

His conversation was distinguished by its eloquence and its amenity; his ideas were rapid and clear, and he gave a certain grace and embellishment to the most abstruse arguments. He took delight in the education of those who attached themselves to his opinions, and were loyal to their literary faith, more especially when he discovered in them any signs of future excellence; and although he was far from rich, it was not unusual with him gratuitously to receive his pupils as his domestic guests. His confidence went so far as to entrust them with his secrets. Nevertheless, notwithstanding his kind patronage and their devoted attachment, his most constant disciples attained to no reputation; either because imitation is in itself incapable of rising above mediocrity, or because there was in the system of this great writer something rather pernicious than conducive to success. This circumstance, so painful for the head of a sect, did not, however, sour his temper, or diminish his regard. He was the same affectionate noble-minded man to the last, and his friends had just reason to praise him and to lament his loss.

His political conduct was not distinguished for its constancy. The revolution found him more than a sexagenary —devoted to literary pursuits—a priest—and one who had never wandered beyond the narrow confines of his native country, which for more than a century had enjoyed the most profound calm.

Bonaparte had read and re-read the Italian Ossian, and at his first occupation of Padua he eagerly sent for Cesarotti, and named him one of the chiefs of the new government. Our author took that opportunity of publishing a small treatise on the rights and freedom of mankind, on the duties of the magistrate, and the character of the people. Three or four years afterwards the chances of war brought him into the hands of the Russians and the Austrians, and he was *forced*, if such an expression may be applied to such an exertion, to compose a short poem in praise of the victorious potentates.

Finally, when Bonaparte had become Emperor, and was again master of the Venetian States, he created Cesarotti a knight commander of one of his orders, assigning to him at the same time a pension, which was meant to insure his gratitude and his praise. Napoleon was not mistaken; his pensioner published his poem, called 'Pronéa, or Providence,' a most extravagant performance, where the style of Lucan, of Ossian, and of Claudian, bewilders the reader, already lost amidst the mazes of metaphysics and of theological allegory. The work, from the first to the last page, was such as might be expected from a systematic innovator, from a devotee trembling on the brink of the grave, and from a poet who wrote by commission.

He survived this effort too short a time to enjoy his pension, but not before his poem had been consigned to oblivion.

Had this writer been born in other times; had he expanded his ideas and escaped from the circle of his own metaphysical speculations, by visiting other countries and mixing with other minds; had he encountered greater obstacles in his ascent to fame; but, above all, had he devoted himself to original composition and made a more judicious use of his acquaintance with foreign literature, it is probable that Cesarotti would have taken a prominent place amongst the classical authors of his country. As it is, the Italians accuse his system and accuse his example; but whilst they pronounce both the one and the other to have

been highly prejudicial to his native literature, they are all willing to allow that he was possessed of great natural ability.

A short notice of Angelo Mazza, the schoolfellow and the friend of Cesarotti, may be fairly subjoined to a mention of that poet. His first essay was made in the year 1764, when he translated the 'Pleasures of the Imagination,' and convinced the Italians that the compressed style of Dante was capable of being applied to their blank verse, which as yet was little more than a string of sonorous syllables.

The poetry published by him in a maturer age consists in great part of lyrical pieces on *Harmony*. They are to be found in two small volumes; and Saint Cecilia is the inspirer and patroness of two of his best odes. It was not likely that he should equal the invention of Dryden; he wisely, therefore, was contented with trying a version of the great Ode, and his translation of that lyrical masterpiece has the merit of having extended the fame of our Poet to every corner of Italy.

The imitations and even the translations of Mazza have a certain air of originality impressed not only on their style, which is extremely energetic, but even on the ideas which appear generally drawn from a metaphysical turn of mind. He excels much in the poetical array of abstract images, and what the 'Theodicea' of Leibnitz is in prose, he sometimes contrives to execute in verse. In spite, however, of the inspired tone of some of his verses on the Universe and the wisdom of the Creator, displayed, according to Mazza, in the harmony of all things, and notwithstanding he has represented this same harmony under aspects entirely new and beautiful, the poet has failed no less than all others who have attempted to embellish these sacred subjects, in keeping alive the interest of his reader, and has succeeded only in attracting the admiration of those who are delighted to see objections encountered and difficulties overcome. His odes are composed of stanzas, the melody of which is often sacrificed to what the musicians call *contrapunto*, which is

calculated to surprise more than please, and he has even adopted those difficult rhymes which the Italians call *sdrucciole*, or slippery, and which not only lengthen the eleven syllabled verse into twelve syllables, but change the position of the accent, as appears from the following specimen extracted from the same Mazza:—

> "A me le voci di concento gravide,
> A me le forme dello stil Pindarico,
> Date a me l'ispirata arpa di Davide."

The only work of Mazza which has been often printed, and has hit the taste of the Italians, is a poem in thirty pages, addressed to Cesarotti, in which he gives a masterly sketch of the great poets of every nation, and has placed the English on a distinguished eminence amongst the immortal brotherhood. It is only the women, who affect our endemic melancholy, and the younger readers, who occasion the immense demand for 'Young's Night Thoughts,' translated as they are into poor verse or ampullated prose; for the more enlightened Italians study Milton and Shakespeare.

Mazza is remarkable for the candour with which he has treated his contemporaries, even those attached to a system totally different from his own. This discretion, however, has not silenced the voice of criticism, and in spite of his own reserve, his partisans and his opponents have carried on a war of words, which is seldom to be equalled by English polemics, and is outrageous even in a country distinguished by the pedantry, the fury, and the illiberality of its literary quarrels. The foreigners who have by turns usurped the Italian provinces, have extended their claims to all the productions of that fruitful soil: not only the corn, and the wine, and the oil are put in requisition, but the tythe of the poetry is claimed by the conquerors. Mazza, in his quality of perpetual secretary of the academy of Parma, composed the usual complimentary sonnets for the successive governments of his country; but he cautiously avoided all

political topics, and left his opinion still uncompromised and unknown.

It is generally reported that he finished, although he never ventured to publish, a translation of Pindar. The Greek poet has had many happy imitators in Italy, especially in the days of Chiabrera, of Filicaja, of Menzini, and of Guidi; but his translators have failed there no less than in all other countries. Mazza, besides his poetical reputation, had the character of a scholar profoundly versed in ancient and modern languages, and the acquisition of the latter is the more singular, as he had never been out of Italy, and indeed had seldom quitted his native town.*

Joseph Parini.

Parini was almost the only Italian poet of the last century who dared to conceive, and certainly he was the only one who was capable of completing, the project of directing the efforts of his art towards the improvement of his fellow-citizens. If by *moralizing his song* he has failed to correct his contemporaries, he has, however, acquired a reputation much more valuable than can be the share of those whose talents are devoted solely to the amusement of the public.

His parents were peasants on the borders of the lake Pusiano, the Eupilis of Pliny, about twenty miles to the north of Milan. It is usual in Italy to choose from the poorest classes those destined to supply the humblest and most laborious duties in the church, whilst the valuable benefices are reserved for the younger sons of noble families. When one of these children of poverty shows signs of superior talent, the monks endeavour to attach him to their community, and the charity of the bishop provides him a gratuitous education. In this way Parini was sent to study in the capital of Austrian Lombardy. He applied to his scholastic pursuits until nearly his twentieth year, when

* Mazza died in 1817, at Parma. He was in his 76th year. There is a long epitaph on him in the cathedral.

his constitution, feeble from the beginning, almost sunk under an attack which took away the use of his lower limbs, and occasioned his retreat from the seminary in a condition that seemed to deprive him of all hopes of aspiring even to a country curacy. All that medical care, all that time could do for the improvement of his health, from his youth to the day of his death, barely enabled him to crawl along by the help of a stick, or by leaning on the arm of a friend.

Some of the verses published in his posthumous works are painfully affecting, from the picture which they afford of the extreme indigence in which he languished even after he had arrived at years of maturity. His whole livelihood, and that of an aged mother, were derived from composing articles for a newspaper. He speaks thus in requesting an intimate friend to send him relief:—

"La mia povera madre non ha pane
Se non da me, ed io non ho danaro
Da mantenerla almeno per domane." *

He had already published some poetry which had dropt after the partial applauses that usually succeed the first essays of every author, that are not bad enough for ridicule nor good enough for envy. Parini would never allow these specimens to be reprinted. It was not until his thirty-fifth year that he published the first canto of that poem, which rendered him formidable to the most powerful families around him, and established him in the eyes of the literary world as the founder of a new school in poetry. This poem is called 'The Day' (*Il Giorno*), and is divided into four cantos—Morning (*Mattino*); Noon (*Meriggio*); Evening (*Vespro*); and Night (*Notte*)—and it contains a satirical description of the manner in which the Italian nobles contrive to waste away the four-and-twenty hours of an existence for the most part truly despicable. Before entering into an examination of this poem, a word or two may be requisite

* Parini, Oper., vol. iii.

on the author. The literary history of every nation abounds with instances of the distresses and ill success of those endowed with the finest abilities; and it is a painful truth that the union of the severest virtue with those abilities is no shield against the arrows of Fortune.

The case of Parini, however, is not to be confounded with these examples. Infirm, indigent, without the advantage of a regular education, struggling against the obscurity of his birth, and the disgrace of poverty, he lived in a city where the nobles are not only more rich, but are perhaps more haughty and more ignorant than in any other town in Italy. At that time they were important from their influence, direct and indirect, and formidable from the impunity with which they could give a loose to their revenge.

It is universally known that before the revolution the Italian nobles enjoyed a sort of prescriptive right of employing assassins; but it is more wonderful still, that at this day, and in the face of the new *noblesse* created by Bonaparte, there is not a single instance of the daughter or wife of any but those in possession of ancient titles being admitted to the ball-room or drawing-room of a Milanese patrician. The same absurd distinction prevails at Turin. At Venice, at Bologna, at Florence, at Rome, the exclusion is not so strictly observed, and a few young females of the middling ranks are allowed to stand in the same dance with the daughters of barons and of counts.

Such was the state of society that Parini undertook to correct. And this difficult, this dangerous task he adventured upon, by boldly reproaching the nobles with their vices and their crimes. He raised his own reputation by the depression of a whole order, which, in spite of their being essentially more despicable than in any other country of Europe, were, owing to the ignorance and extreme poverty of the lower classes, in fact, more respectable. The care taken by Parini to conceal his personal allusions could not prevent the discovery that his portraits were all drawn from living characters; and if his originals recognised their likeness only now and then, the public were

never mistaken. There was not a single Milanese who did not see, in the chief personage of the poem, the Prince Belgiojoso, of the reigning family of Este, the eldest brother of the field-marshal of the same name, who was Austrian ambassador at our court, and governor of the Low Countries.

It should be here observed, to the honour of Parini, and indeed of the Italian authors in general, that, let a work be ever so much admired, it never brings the writer money enough to defray the expense of the first edition. There is but a very limited number of readers in Italy; and though a work may receive from their applause a character which secures the esteem of the whole nation, a multitude of purchasers, such as we are accustomed to, is not to be procured by any merit, or any accident. Twelve hundred names to a subscription are reckoned an extraordinary instance of public patronage, and it is hazardous to demand more than three francs (half-a-crown) for any new production in a single volume under the quarto size. The copyright law can hardly exist in a country divided into so many small governments, and the booksellers find it no difficult matter to elude the prosecutions, which must be transferred from one state to another before they can be brought before any competent tribunal. After the revolution an effort was made to correct this abuse; but it was found almost impossible to change the practice of a whole class of tradesmen long habituated to consider all literary profits their own, and to esteem every mercenary art a fair branch of speculation.

Those accustomed to the liberality of English publishers, which affords a decent subsistence to many whose talents and whose fame do not rise above mediocrity, will hardly believe that the best authors in Italy think themselves fortunate if they find a publisher to take the expense of printing off their hands. In that country the booksellers are also printers, and have it in their power to multiply indefinitely the copies of any edition, without accounting for the accruing profits. The fidelity of the printer, and our

other protections of literary property, are unpractised and unknown.

Alfieri, in a sort of preface, in verse, prefixed to the second edition of his tragedies, complains that his eagerness for renown has cost him a portion of his health, of his intellects, of his peace of mind, and, above all, of his fortune —the latter having been sacrificed to the rapacity of the bookseller:—

> " Profonder tutto in linde stampe il mio,
> E per che altri mi compri, accattar io:
> Soffrire il revisor che l' uomo strazia;
> Appiccicarmi i masnadier libraj
> Che a credenza ricevon e fan grazia
> Nè metallo per foglio rendon mai."

There were, however, certain coincidences favourable to the bold project of Parini. A sort of colony of French encyclopædists had settled at Milan, and four or five patricians having taken to reading, dared also to disseminate in writing the principles of the approaching revolution. The Marquis Beccaria had recently published his work on 'Crimes and Punishments,' which effected an important change in the criminal jurisprudence of his own country, and extended its beneficial influence to many other nations, where torture prevailed, and was consequently abolished. Joseph II. had himself begun those innovations which ended by diminishing the preponderating influence of the Lombard nobles. Count Firmian, the governor of those provinces, when questioned as to the publication of the poem of Parini, exclaimed, " Let him make haste; we want it mightily!"—*Qu'il se hâte, nous en avons une nécessité extrême.*

In addition to such a powerful ally, Parini was backed by all the middling classes of society, which, generally speaking, are certainly the most moral and the most enlightened portion of civilised mankind. Some individuals amongst them having quarrelled with the church-rectors of certain collegiate establishments, found in Parini a champion who overwhelmed their adversaries with a few

strokes of his pen. Parini published a pamphlet on that occasion, which, in the cooler hours of revision, appeared to him too violent, and he would not suffer it to proceed to a second edition: but this work introduced him to notice before the publication of his poem, and those whose cause he had advocated continued his friends to the last moments of his melancholy existence.

The 'Day' is one continued strain of irony from the first line to the last. The author assumes the character of preceptor to a nobleman, and teaches him how to devote his morning to the toilette, his noon to the serious occupations of the table, his afternoon to the public walks, and his night to the *Conversazioni*. The most frivolous actions, the most contemptible vices, the most ridiculous follies, and sometimes the most atrocious crimes, are detailed with minuteness, and always with the pretext of recommendation. The 'Advice to Servants' is carried into the highest departments of society, and a magnificence of diction and of images is tastefully employed, instead of the familiar tone of Swift, to portray the luxury and the pride which the Italian nobility carefully wrap round the naked wretchedness of their hearts.

The variety of the objects, and the numerous portraits of individuals, all in the higher classes, of every age and sex, engage the attention, whilst the faithful and fine-spun description of manners keeps alive the curiosity of the reader. The poet has shown no little address in contrasting the effeminacy of the actual race of nobles, and the industry and the courage of their ancestors, who, in the middle ages, restored the civilisation of the South, and with unshaken constancy defended the liberties of the Italian republics. This contrast naturally transported Parini to the days of Romance; and the wild life of the military patricians, the old castles, and the glittering arms of the half barbarous ages, were a happy relief for the silken barons, the palaces, and the embroidered suits of his contemporaries, whom it was necessary to amuse in order to instruct. The ruins of dungeons and towers neglected by

the heirs of those who raised them, enabled the poet to employ his fancy in restoring them to their ancient splendour, and he thus threw in those sombre shades and colourings which the Germans afterwards appropriated to themselves, and were believed to have formed a new and national school of poetic fiction.

With this mixture of romance Parini also recurred to the characters and allegories of the old mythology, the favourite resource of the Italians, who still think it the only fabulous system whose images combine the truth of real nature with the charms of ideal grace. But even in this department of his art, which an Englishman would abandon as hopeless, our author contrived to give an air of reality to his classical fables, by applying them to the practices and principles of his own times. Thus it is that his Cupid and Hymen are introduced. They are engaged in a war to all appearance interminable, but they agree to treat, and peace is made on condition that Cupid shall reign all day, and Hymen all night. An English reader would not be much struck with this invention; but whoever meets a handsome Italian matron, decently pacing between her husband and her cavalier servente, will instantly remember the Love and Hymen of Parini, and the graceful solemn air with which his verses march majestically along.

Our own nation can hardly have a just idea of this species of poetry. The Italians who admire it the most compare it to the 'Georgics;' and the 'Giorno' has certainly more than one property in common with the poem of Virgil. Both the one and the other are employed in dignifying topics essentially common and familiar. Both one and the other display their poetical vigour in frequent episodes; and the Italian perhaps has gone less out of his way for those embellishments than the Latin poet. It was the misfortune, not the fault, of Parini, that he could not employ the hexametral structure; and owing, partly to the same defect of language, and partly perhaps to real inferiority, he was not able to adorn every picture with those images, nor lend to every word that harmony,

which are the constituent excellence of Virgil. If Parini's style does not rival that of Virgil, it is some comfort for the Italians to think that their poet has approached that great master nearer than any other follower:

"——— longo sed proximus intervallo."

His countrymen are besides hardy enough to suppose that in the grouping, in the invention, in the connexion of all the parts with the whole, the pictures of the 'Giorno' are superior to those of the 'Georgics.' It is not certainly too hazardous to assert that no one can learn farming from the verses of Virgil, but that much instruction may be gained by avoiding the follies which characterise the hero of Parini. If the 'Sofa' of Cowper were a little more varied, and tinctured with satire, it would, in the domestic details, and the easy flowing versification, be a tolerable counterpart of the 'Giorno'—at least we cannot furnish a stronger resemblance.

The versification of Parini is not altogether unlike the Latin, and is entirely different from that of the other authors who, in this age particularly, distinguished themselves by trying every variety with which they could rival each other, and improve the structure of Italian verse. This has been already observed in the remarks on Cesarotti and Mazza, and the same truth will be deduced from subsequent notices in this essay. The imagery, the expressions, the numbers, the very words of Parini, have a certain solemnity which they never altogether lay aside; and the melody and change of tone so conspicuous in the soft and varied descriptions of the Greek and Latin epics are, in the verses of the Italian poet, not so much recognised at once as they are imperceptibly felt by the reader.

It may be sufficient to give a short example of the distinction here alluded to. The poet conducts his hero to the public walks—the time chosen is the nightfall; he leaves his mistress alone in her carriage, and slipping through the crowd, steals quietly into the carriage of another lady, who has also been abandoned by her cavalier.

Such a scene required some delicacy to portray. A loose or careless poet would hardly steer clear of indecent images; but Parini is not less adroit with his carriage and his night than is Virgil with the cave and the storm that were so fatal to the happiness of Dido. He invokes the goddess of darkness with his usual irony, and prays her to arrest her progress that he may contemplate at leisure the exploits of his chosen hero.

" ——— Ma la Notte segue
Sue leggi inviolabili, e declina
Con tacit' ombra sopra l' emispero;
E il rugiadoso piè lenta movendo,
Rimescola i color varj, infiniti,
E via gli sgombra con l' immenso lembo
Di cosa in cosa: e suora de la morte
Un aspetto indistinto, un solo volto,
Al suolo a i vegetanti a gli animali
A i grandi ed a la plebe equa permette;
E i nudi insieme e li dipinti visi
Delle belle confonde, e i cenci, e l' oro:
Nè veder mi concede all' aer cieco
Qual de cocchj si parta o qual rimanga
Solo all' ombre segrete: e a me di mano
Tolto il pennello, il mio Signore avvolge
Per entro al tenebroso umido velo."

Nevertheless it is evident that this kind of poetry, beautiful as it is, and recalling to us some of the most delicate passages of the 'Rape of the Lock,' is addressed rather to the imagination than to the heart. Yet Parini has occasionally proved himself a master of the pathetic, and he calls forth tears of regret when he shows us a servant, after twenty years of faithful attachment, dismissed, persecuted, and reduced to beggary, for no other offence than slightly beating a favourite dog that had bit him. We may be here reminded of some of the efforts of Mr. Crabbe, when he is most harmonious and most tender; but the Italian awakes, by the same picture, feelings more allied to indignation than to pity, and his sleepless irony somewhat fatigues the attention, and helps to counteract the general effect. The perpetual aggrandisement and decoration of objects, in themselves little and mean, display a curious felicity, and

succeed in exciting the proposed ridicule; but the effect diminishes as the effort is continued, and concludes in being mistaken for affectation. A single pebble set tastefully in diamonds may amuse the spectator, but a whole cabinet of such curiosities would hardly be worth attention or examination.

Another deficiency will be apparent to the foreign reader of Parini. The poet never saw any other city than Milan. His infirmities and his poverty confined him entirely at home. It was thus impossible that he should not give too much importance to objects which those accustomed to a wider sphere of action would consider unworthy of regard. It was natural also, for the same reason, that his style, formed altogether on the classical writers, should occasionally degenerate into pedantry. What could be performed by an exquisite and cultivated taste has been done by Parini, but he is not to be classed with the inspired poets. The great defect of the 'Giorno' is the little interest excited by the hero of the poem, who is contemptible from his entrance to his exit. Yet even this capital objection seldom occurs to those absorbed in admiration at the effect produced by the address and execution of the author.

The great merit of Perini lies in the dignity, not only of his style, but of his conduct in wielding the weapons of satire. His poem has nothing of that impotent rage against the powerful, of that invidious detraction of the wealthy, of that plaintive accusation against patronage and ingratitude, which have been the favourite topics of all satirists, from Horace to the English Imitator of Juvenal. The vices of the great he contemplates with a pity worthy the noblest of their own order; he does not indulge himself with epigrams; he never degenerates into obscenity; he will not condescend to be the buffoon, nor to administer to the bad passions, of the multitude.

There is a grandeur in the expression of his censures which casts, as it were, a shield between those whom he condemns, and the anger and hatred of the people. He respects human nature; he is not misanthropic; and he

takes care to attribute the depravity of the nobles to their total idleness. Throughout his whole satire he shows himself bent upon the generous project of repairing the disgrace of his country, and never incurs the suspicion that he would only satisfy his private animosities.

Soon after the appearance of this poem, all those of easy circumstances in the middle classes, and the few patricians who, being addicted to literary pursuits, were the natural opponents of the great body of the nobles, interested themselves with the Austrian government in providing for Parini. They persuaded that government to found a professorship of eloquence expressly for their favourite, who justified the high expectations entertained of him; and, by his efforts in his new capacity, gave a stability to his rising reputation. He was indeed by nature qualified more than any one, perhaps, of his contemporaries, to give lessons on the *belles lettres*, and to perform that task in a way totally different from that usually employed in the Italian schools. There was a gravity, and at the same time an ease, in his eloquence, which enabled him to cite the examples of former great writers with a powerful effect, and to illustrate them with new and brilliant observations. He applied the various theories of the sublime and beautiful not only to the productions of the pen, but to all the creations of nature; and many of his contemporaries, already in possession of literary renown, were not ashamed to put themselves to the school of Parini. Those persons, and readers in general, were perhaps surprised to find, when they came to peruse his dissertations in print, that the ideas, although just, were seldom very profound: that a clear method, a chaste style, and an ingenious view of the subject, were their chief merit; but that the flow of words, the soul, the fire of expression and sentiment, had vanished with the delivery, and that the genius, and even the polished correctness of the poet, were not to be recognised in the discourses of the rhetorician.

Parini was so painfully scrupulous, and at the same time so idle a writer, that he never published more than the

two first cantos of his poem, the whole of which does not amount to four thousand lines. The two last cantos were published after his death, and they contain several half-finished verses, a great many variations, and two large chasms, which a long life was, it seems, too short to enable him to fill up to his satisfaction. This severity of taste he applied to others as well as to himself; and it was his favourite expression, when speaking even of Virgil and Horace, "*We should study them in those passages where they are not mortal men like ourselves.*" From such a master the youth of Milan imbibed a delicacy of taste bordering upon affectation, and these scruples were easily cherished in a people less given to poetry than any other of the inhabitants of Italy. Indeed Parini himself is the only distinguished poet that this city has produced from the revival of letters to the present day.

In addition to this individual propensity, it may be remarked that a severity of judgment prevails more or less with all the Italians, who are, as it were, saturated with poetry, and are besides accustomed to disregard the matter in comparison with the manner of metrical expression—a feeling deducible from the surpassing variety and beauty and strength of their language. Add to this that they judge all modern compositions with a reference to their most ancient poets, whom they worship with a veneration almost superstitious.

Parini was not remarkable for his erudition, and knew but very little Greek. He could not write Latin, but he felt all the beauties of the Roman writers, and made them perceptible to his audience. His favourite Italian studies were Dante, Ariosto, and the 'Aminta' of Tasso; yet he imitated none of these great writers; and it may be said of him as of our own Swift, that it would be difficult to point out a single idea that he has borrowed from his predecessors. He may be called an imitator, inasmuch as he sedulously traced back to their great constituent causes the effects produced by the old writers, and then made use of his discovery; but his manner is altogether his own; is

inspired by his own genius, and attempered by his own inexorable taste. He followed the rule of Horace which inculcates the sacrifice of every thought, however noble, which is found incapable of embellishment; and he renounced the adoption of those beauties, which vulgar readers are apt to call natural, but which in fact are obvious and commonplace.

Treatises upon the fine arts, and more particularly the lives of celebrated artists, were his favourite and constant study. Amongst the few books which he possessed at the time of his death, his executors found two copies of 'Vasari's Biography,' both of them worn away by repeated perusal. He never applied either to drawing or to music, but he was perfectly well acquainted with the theory, and sensible to the charms, of both, and the most celebrated professors had frequent recourse to his advice. His posthumous works furnish us with the ideas, the composition, and even the details of several pictures which he had communicated to distinguished artists, and which are now to be seen, faithfully executed according to his directions, in many of the palaces at Milan. Parini employed, indeed, his whole life in carrying into practice the maxim that *poetry should be painting;* for, with the exception of Dante, the other Italian poets have only occasional pictures: all the rest is but description. Parini effected by dint of meditation that which was the natural production of the wonderful genius of Dante, and it would be difficult to point out ten consecutive lines in the 'Giorno' from which a painter might not extract a complete picture, with all the requisite varieties of attitude and expression.

Parini also published in his lifetime about twenty odes, of which the Italians consider *four* as inimitable, six or seven of the others tolerable, and the remainder absolutely bad. The whole of them bear a nearer resemblance to those of Horace than of Pindar, but neither of them has a shadow of likeness to the lyric poetry of Petrarch, or of Chiabrera, or of Guidi. Not only the style, but even the language appears quite different. It is his constant practice here, as in the 'Giorno' to avoid detailed descriptions

and to throw out his images in mass and at one stroke of his pencil. He has also the same object in view; namely, the correction of national manners.

The ode addressed to a young woman of eighteen, who had adopted the Parisian fashion, then called "*robe à la guillotine*," is written in a style more than usually intelligible to a foreign reader. The beauty and the innocence of the maiden are presented under colours that contrast admirably with the depravity of mind and manners which the poet foresees must be the consequence of imitating so vile an example.

"Oh nato da le dure
Selci chiunque togliere
Da scelerata scure

Osò quel nome, infamia
Del secolo spietato;
E diè funesti augurii
Al femminile ornato;

E con le trùci Eumenidi
Le care Grazie avvinse;
E di crudele immagine
La tua bellezza tinse."!!

He digresses to the history of the ancient Roman females, from the earliest times to those days of cruelty and corruption when they thronged the gladiatorial shows, and a Vestal gave the signal for the slaughter.

"Potè all' alte patrizie
Come alla plebe oscura
Giocoso dar solletico
La soffrente natura.
Che più? Baccanti e cupide
D' abbominando aspetto
Sol dall' uman pericolo
Acuto ebber diletto;
E da i gradi e da i circoli
Co' moti e con le voci,
Di già maschili, applausero
A i duellanti atroci:
Creando a sè delizia
E de le membra sparte,
E de gli estremi aneliti,
E del morir con arte."

The poet has contrived that the progress of his ideas shall correspond with the gradual corruption with which the imprudent imitation of novelty seduces by little and little the incautious female into the worst practices of debauchery.

The biographer of Parini, who has furnished the greater portion of the preceding account, has been accused of swelling out the works of his author into six volumes, although those published during his lifetime scarcely occupy two hundred pages;* and perhaps we may add that, of all the posthumous works, little more than the two last cantos of his 'Giorno' deserved to be rescued from that obscurity to which they had been consigned by their scrupulous author.

It is true that none of them are deficient in affording instruction to those who delight in the study of human nature, and love to watch the development of the mind. The odes which are reckoned Parini's best were composed in his old age; and such of the verses as appear in their first form, and as were not intended for publication, are remarkable chiefly for their good sense, and for their unaffected taste. But their imagery is not abundant; their style has little warmth, and the thoughts are commonplace and trite; yet they enable us to form some conception of the time and labour employed in the elevation and constant support of a style which frequently borders upon sublimity. His commerce with mankind laid open to him the most secret recesses of the heart, and furnished him with that acquaintance with our natural foibles of which he discovers so intimate a knowledge in his principal poem, and in his odes. In the same manner his continued and minute contemplation of nature in all her varieties furnished him with the beauties necessary for his poetical purposes, and enabled him to recognise their recurrence in the old classical writers, and to copy them with success.

* See Opere di Giúseppe Parini, publicate ed illustrate da Francesco Reina, vol. vi. in 8vo., Milano, 1801.

The result of study and cultivation was never more conspicuous than in the example of Parini. It had all the appearance, and produced all the effect of genius: and yet his was, doubtless, one of those minds rather capable of culture, than naturally fruitful. The soil might have brought forth none but barren plants, had not care, and labour, and patience, qualified it to receive the seed, and supply the nourishment of the richest productions.

The Milanese nobles did not dare to revenge themselves openly for the boldness of Parini. There is a story current of an attempt to assassinate him, but this, perhaps, is an invention suggested by the ancient manners of Italy.

His enemies took another course. The emoluments of his professorship amounted only to 3000 francs, a little more than one hundred pounds a year. Leopold II., on a visit to Milan, was struck with the physiognomy of an old man, lame, and moving slowly along, but with an air of dignity. He asked his name, and being told that it was Parini, ordered the municipal council to increase his pension sufficiently to enable him to keep a small carriage. But the verbal command of a foreign monarch is seldom strictly obeyed in distant provinces, where the nobles have an interest or a will distinct from their duty. Parini continued without any other prop than his stick. The poet whom the Milanese pointed out to strangers as the pride and glory of their city, was often pushed into the dirt, and was repeatedly near being run over by the carriages, in streets where there is no pavement for foot passengers.

In an ode, which he calls the *Caduta*, the *Fall*, he describes the accidents which happened to him in rainy and foggy days; and although this production is not in the first rank of his poetry, it can never be perused without delight, nor be quoted without exciting our admiration at the profound pathos, the honest pride, and the philosophy with which it abounds.

The French, on their arrival in Italy, soon understood the active part which the literary classes had played in the

revolution. They employed many of these individuals, and amongst others Parini, who found himself all at once amongst the chiefs of the republican government, with no other qualification or capital for such an elevation, than what was derived from a love of liberty, a habit of speaking the truth, an unbending character, and a total disregard of all selfish interests. He felt the embarrassment of his situation, and having often spoken harshly to the French generals, it was not difficult for him to obtain permission to retire, after a few weeks of thankless employment. His name and his integrity commanded respect, and the opposition of a whole life against the nobles, made him regarded by all the lower classes as the great partizan of the democracy. This influence was not lost even when he opposed the follies of the populace. They still show a square at Milan, opposite to the great theatre, which was one day filled by a large mob of idle fellows, who ran about crying, "*Long life to the Republic—death to the Aristocrats!*" Parini issued from a coffee-house and exclaimed, "*Viva la Republica —e morte a nessuno; Canaglia stolta!*" The crowd instantly dispersed. Whatever may be the honours acquired by poetry in England, we cannot form an idea of the influence enjoyed by a man who has obtained a great literary reputation in a country where the largest portion of the people cannot read. He is listened to with a sort of religious obedience.

The circles at Milan were afraid of every word that might drop from Parini, and he now and then abused his acknowledged ascendancy. But his intolerance never extended to his friends: with them he was indulgent to the last degree, and his severity was laid aside for a sort of infantine joviality. He was pleased with the company of those young people who were distinguished by the fire, the frankness, and the *étourderie* of their age: but he was incensed somewhat extravagantly against those who either affected, or were naturally inclined to, gravity. He was complaisant and affable to strangers who came, even without introduction, to visit him; but if they unfortunately

ventured to praise him, they did not escape without a reprimand, and found his door shut against them ever afterwards.

His philosophy, strengthened as it was by the useful alliance of disease and age, did not, however, defend him against the attacks of love; and the odes written towards the end of his life, are sufficient proof that he never looked upon female charms with impunity. He confesses this truth, and perhaps has adopted the safest course to avoid ridicule, by declaring openly, that his good genius, which had preserved him from the tortures of ambition and avarice, had still left him accessible to the soft torment of the most tender and most disinterested of all the passions.*

Those high-born dames who were often the objects of his affection and of his poetry, were much flattered by his preference, and forgave him all that he had said of their husbands and of their *Cavalieri Serventi*. With these he never made peace. And although he was an inmate in many great houses, he stayed not a moment after he saw that he was required to submit to condescensions incompatible with his principles, and unbecoming his character. After all that has been said of the liberality of the great, it is clear that the precedence granted to genius does not commence during the lifetime even of the most fortunate writer. It was by a noble perseverance that Parini, indigent, unknown, imperfect, and perpetually boasting of his paternal plough, succeeded so far as to make himself respected by those powerful classes whose vices he decried; and maintained the dignity of his character and calling in a country where flattery, common as it is elsewhere, is found more base and abject amongst the men of letters than in the other orders, where the poets are very often the buffoons of their society, and where the tutors of boys of rank are confounded with the domestics of the family. At the time that almost all the Italian *rhymesters*, an innumerable class, were dedicating

* See the two most celebrated odes, Il Messaggio and Il Pericolo.

their canzoni and their sonnets to their respective patrons, Parini refused to recite a single verse at the table of any great man.*

He is to be exactly recognised in the portrait which he has given of himself.

> " Me, non nato a percotere
> Le dure illustri porte,
> Nudo accorrà, ma libero,
> Il Regno della morte." †

He preserved his dignity and his poverty, the strength of his mind and the powers of his genius, to his seventieth year. He had been employed a few days in projecting some verses,‡ and one morning he dictated them to a friend. Having read them over, he said that he was satisfied with them, and begged his friend to get them printed. He then retired into his bedchamber, and, in half an hour afterwards, expired.

Victor Alfieri.

The life of this author has been written by himself. His tragedies have been criticised in every European language. There still remain some notices on his death, and some opinions on his other works, which may be new to the English reader.

His connexion with the Countess of Albany is known to all the world, but no one is acquainted with the secret of that long intercourse. If they were ever married, Alfieri and the Countess took as much pains to conceal that fact, as is usually bestowed upon its publicity. Truth might have been spoken on the tomb of the poet, but even there we only find that Louisa, Countess of Albany, was his *only*

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* See the ode entitled 'La Recita de' Versi.'

† See his ode 'La Vita Rustica.'

‡ It is the last copy of verses at page 44 of the second volume of Parini's works.

love—" quam unice dilexit."—A church, perhaps, was not the place to boast of such a passion; but after every consideration we may conclude, that the Abate Caluso, who wrote the epitaph, and received the last sighs of Alfieri, knew, and did not choose to tell, that his friend was never married to the widow of Charles Edward Stuart—" *Tacendo clamat*"—his silence is eloquent.

Alfieri, in the languor of a protracted agony, which the presence of Caluso assisted him to support, received the last visit of a priest, who came to confess him, with an affability for which he was not distinguished in the days of his health: but he said to him, " Have the kindness to look in to-morrow; I trust that death will wait for twenty-four hours." The ecclesiastic returned the next day. Alfieri was sitting in his arm-chair, and said, " At present, I fancy I have but a few minutes to spare:" and turning towards the Abbé, entreated him to bring the Countess to him. No sooner did he see her than he stretched forth his hand, saying, " Clasp my hand, my dear friend, I die." *

The religious opinions of Alfieri cannot be collected from his writings. His tragedies contain here and there a sarcasm against the Popes, and in his fugitive pieces may be found some epigrams against the monastic orders, but more particularly against the cardinals. Not a word, however, has ever escaped him against the Christian doctrines. It is only upon close inspection that we find, in a treatise on tyranny, that auricular confession, and the indissolubility of marriage, have contributed to the enslavement of Italy. His latter years were divided between a haughty irascibility and a deep melancholy, which afflicted him by turns, to a degree which rendered him scarcely accountable for his actions. Alfieri was then not unfrequently seen in the churches from vespers to sunset, sitting motionless, and apparently wrapt up in listening to the psalms of the monks, as they chanted them from behind the skreen of

* Stringetemi, cara amica! la mano, io muojo.

the choir. The way in which he died would, however, lead us to conjecture, that his meditations were not those of religion, and that he chose such a retreat in search of that solemn tranquillity which alone promised him a temporary repose from the relentless furies that preyed upon his heart:—

> "Due fere Donne, anzi due Furie atroci
> Tor' non mi posso—ahi misero!—dal fianco;
> Ira e Malinconia."

The complaint is from one of his own sonnets. He printed, during his lifetime, but he could never be persuaded to publish some prose works, and amongst them the treatise before mentioned, 'Della Tirannide,' and another entitled, 'Il Principe e le Lettere.' They are in two small volumes. The first is a series of close arguments and severe remarks against monarchy. The second is written to prove that poets, historians, and orators, can flourish only amongst a free people, and that tyranny is interested in the advancement only of the sciences, and more especially of medicine and jurisprudence. In both these works he has shown that his address lay chiefly in the vigour of his attack; his preparations for defence were less skilfully disposed. Indeed he seems to forget that he was liable to a retort. Thus it is that although he may invigorate the partisans of freedom, he can hardly make a convert from the ranks of their opponents.

The Italians look upon the prose of Alfieri as a model of style, particularly on political subjects. It is simple and energetic; his ideas are not abundant, but they are clear and precise, and connected according to the exactest rules of reasoning. It corresponds well with a metaphor employed for its description by one of his own countrymen—"I suoi pensieri in prosa sono non tanto vagamente dipinti quanto profondamente scolpiti." His language is pure, and founded upon that of the oldest writers, but is free from the pedantry and the rust of antiquity. No man, therefore, was more qualified than Alfieri for the translation of Sallust.

In fact his version of that historian is reckoned a masterpiece.

He tells us, in his preface, that this translation cost him many years of painful application. The whole of his works, indeed, bear the mark not only of laborious effort, but of retouching, repeated and indefatigable. In the latter half of his own memoir he had not time to be equally scrupulous, and that part is written in a style occasionally careless, and in a language not always remarkably correct.

Alfieri, however, was not born to be the translator of Virgil. Could perseverance have obtained his object, his success was certain; for he sat down to his task with the same constancy with which he commenced pupil in the Greek language, after he had passed his fortieth year. He translated the whole of the 'Æneid' three times over; and yet the version published after his death, generally speaking, gives us but the contents of Virgil. The harmony, the glowing style, have no representative in the Italian epic. Alfieri was a perfect master of his language; his words were admirably adapted to the expression of sentiments which flowed warm from his heart; but which, being invariably animated by the same ardent temperature, absorbed his imagination, and left no room for those finer and varied graces which constitute the charm of poetry. Above all, he was extremely deficient in that branch of his art, in which his original is so consummate a master—the elevation of a mean subject by the happy use of metaphor. He could not

"Throw about his manure with dignity."

This must appear the more surprising, since the Italian language is essentially metaphorical, and is by that very quality capable of being adapted to an unlimited variety of styles, according to the invention, the taste, and the imagination of each succeeding writer.

Alfieri was not quite so unfortunate in his translation of 'Terence;' but even there his simplicity is studied, not natural; and in his happiest effort he betrays the secret that he had no genius for comic writing.

The six comedies found amongst his posthumous works are compositions extravagant in the extreme. It is possible that some may admire them for their originality: but the sober reader is much more astonished at the perseverance with which the poet pursued such unprofitable labour. One only, entitled 'The Divorce,' is a satire on Italian marriages. The others cannot possibly be adapted to the theatre. They are in the manner of Aristophanes, and all turn on political subjects. The 'One' (*L'Uno*) is a satire against monarchy, 'The Few' (*I Pochi*), and 'The Too Many' (*I Troppi*), attack the aristocratic and the popular government. A fourth is meant to teach that the 'One,' the 'Few,' and the 'Too Many,' should be mixed together, and may then compose a system somewhat tolerable.

The other comedy, called 'Il Finestrino,' is a satire partly against religious impostors, but more against the philosophers who invent no good religion, but yet would destroy all the old creeds, although (so thinks Alfieri) a bad one is better than none at all. One of the principal persons of the drama is Mahomet.

The verse and the language of these comedies are still more extravagant than their original conception. In short, they are seldom read, and are regarded, except by a very few, as unworthy the genius of Alfieri.

His posthumous works contain also some translations from the ancient dramatic writers; the 'Frogs,' the 'Persians,' the 'Philoctetes,' and the 'Alceste.' To the latter he added another play of his own composition on the same subject, and formed exactly on the Greek model. He pleased himself with the innocent assertion that the new 'Alceste' was a translation from a recovered manuscript, which might fairly be attributed to Euripides. It is the happiest of his latter efforts, and is only not fit for the modern stage. In the closet it affects us by that pathetic tenderness with which Alfieri either could not or would not embellish his other tragedies, constructed as they were expressly for the purpose of bracing the relaxed vigour of his effeminate fellow-countrymen.

With this noble design he composed a sort of drama, altogether new, which he called a *melo-tragedy*. His object here was to unite the music which the Italians look upon as a constituent part of the theatre, with the grandeur and pathos of tragedy. He chose the 'Death of Abel' for his subject, and he adopted that repeated change of scene which his countrymen would have regarded as a monstrous innovation, although it is one of the characteristics of their opera.

Angels and demons are part of the persons of the drama, and are the singers of the play. The poetry of their songs is composed in different metres. Adam, Eve, and their two sons also discourse in verse, but in blank verse, and without music. This composition has some brilliant passages; but is, on the whole, devoid of interest. As an experiment it would perhaps be unproducible on the Italian stage, where the opera has formally excluded all display of ideas or sentiments, and almost of words, and is solely devoted to the musician and the ballet master.

The satires of Alfieri will cherish the melancholy of every discontented member of human society. They are directed against every condition. Kings and nobles, rich and poor, priests and philosophers, physicians, lawyers, merchants, none are exempt; all of them, in fact, are made the subject, and furnish the title of a separate censure. The satirist is free from personality, and even all individual allusion; he strives no farther than to convince his reader, that whatever may be his place or pursuit, he runs a great risk of being unhappy, and wicked, and contemptible. Of the women alone he says nothing good, and nothing bad. His satire on them is contained in a very few verses, and resolves itself into the maxim, that the stronger is responsible for all the vices of the weaker sex.

There are, however, certain of his satires which are recommendable from their wit, and from their acquaintance with human nature. We may select the 'Cavaliere Servente Veterano,' 'I Pedanti,' 'L'Educazione,' and 'Il Duello.' In the latter he steps forward, like another Johnson, in defence of a practice necessary for the protection of the man

of honour, from the intrigues, and calumnies, and assaults of the coward and the bully. Another of the same class, 'I Viaggi,' is devoted to the censure of *himself*, and of the nobility, and of those who travel for want of occupation.

This satire is in *terza rima*, and is the best specimen of that harshness of versification which the warmest admirers of Alfieri allow to be indefensible. He was seduced into this error by a wish to shun the opposite defect which characterised the poets of the preceding generation. The plant had been so warped and drawn to the earth on one side by Metastasio, that Alfieri thought he could never recover its position without bending it backwards as much on the other. The tree is not yet upright. Yet his strange words, and his capricious innovations in phraseology, profusely as they are spread over his satires and his comedies, will be forgotten or forgiven, and the force and purity of his diction will ever recommend the prose of Alfieri to the study of his countrymen. It is worthy of remark, that the Paris edition of his tragedies, which he printed at the press of Didot, is *partially* exempt from that harshness of versification observable in all his former editions.

The errors of a man of genius are not unfrequently of service to the cause of literature. Mr. Bellotto, in his translation of Sophocles, chose Alfieri for his model, as far as regarded his method and general style; but he softened the diction, he harmonised the numbers of his prototype and thus succeeded in producing a work which had been long expected, and often essayed in vain.

Alfieri, a little after the year 1790, and before his return to Italy, printed at Kell some specimens of lyrical poetry in two volumes. The first contains an ode on the taking of the Bastille, and a poem, comprising five odes on the emancipation of America. The one addressed to Washington is the best; but bespeaks, after all, only the originality of the poet. It no less shows that he had misdirected his genius; for his ode is in the same harsh, dry style which spoils his translation of Virgil. The eulogist of America could not be expected to spare the English; but his dislike

was confined to the minister of the day—the nation which he has praised so often in his memoirs he did not degrade in his poetry. Indeed his ode on the Bastille contains an appendix with which we cannot but be content. This is a short apologue, in which the English are the *bees*, the French the *flies*, of the fable.

The other volume of his lyrics consists in great part of amatory sonnets, almost all addressed to the same person. The delicacy of his sentiments, the fire of his passion, and the novelty of his turns of thought, redeem that want of elegance and harmony, which must be observed in the whole performance, and may, perhaps, be discovered in the following specimens.

The first was written in the Album, at Petrarch's house, at Arquà.

" O Cameretta, che già in te chiudesti
Quel Grande alla cui fama è angusto il mondo,
Quel gentile d' amor mastro profondo
Per cui Laurà ebbe in terra onor celesti.
O di pensier soavemente mesti
Solitario ricovero giocondo!
Di che lagrime amare il petto inondo
In veder che ora innonorato resti!
Prezioso diaspro, agata, ed oro
Foran debito fregio e appena degno
Di rivestir si nobile tesoro.
Ma no; tomba fregiar d' uom ch' ebbe regno
Vuolsi, e por gemme ove disdice alloro:
Qui basta il nome di quel Divo Ingegno."

The other is on the tomb of Dante.

" O gran padre Allighier, se dal ciel miri
Me non indegno tuo discepol starmi,
Dal cor traendo profondi sospiri,
Prostrato innanzi a tuoi funerei marmi;
Piacciati, deh! propizio a' bei desiri,
D' un raggio di tua mente illuminarmi:
Uom che a perenne e prima gloria aspiri
Contro invidia e viltà dee stringer l' armi?
Figlio, i' le strinsi, e ben men duol, che dièdi
Nome in tal guisa a gente tanto bassa
Da non pur calpestarsi co' miei piedi—
Se in me fidi, tuo sguardo non abbassa;
Va, tuona, vinci, e niun di costor vedi,
Non che parlarne; ma sovr' essi passa."

His work, called the 'Misogallo,' of which he speaks with so much complacency in his own memoirs, was not printed until the year 1814, ten years after his death, and just as the French evacuated Italy. One might have thought the period well chosen; and yet the editors were obliged to leave *gaps* in certain passages, particularly where he told truth of the Popes. The Misogallo is a mixture of prose and of epigrams. These latter would be a wretched effort, even in a middling author—they betray the rage of impotent sarcasm. As for the book itself, it is also seasoned more with spite than wit—a remark that holds good of some other epigrams published during the life-time of the author. Mr. Forsyth has cited two that are just in point.* The prose of the Misogallo contains two pieces worthy of perusal: one is the defence which Alfieri would have put into the mouth of Louis XVI. in presence of the Convention. The other is the apology of the author himself, for his detestation of the French revolution, as having ruined the cause of liberty, that cause to which Alfieri had dedicated all his talents, and the better portion of his fortune and his life.

Amongst the ancient and modern poets of Italy, no one has furnished so many pictures and busts as Alfieri. Fabre, who excels in portraits, and was his friend, has taken four likenesses in oil; all of them much esteemed, and, it should seem, justly. There is also a profile, having for inscription the sonnet in which he describes both his person and his character.

" Sublime Specchio di veraci detti
Mostrami in corpo e in anima qual sono.
Capelli or radi in fronte, e rossi pretti;
Lunga statura e capo a terra prono.
Sottil persona su due stinchi schietti;
Bianca pelle, occhio azzurro, aspetto buono,
Giusto naso, bel labbro, e denti eletti,
Pallido in viso più che un Re sul trono.
Or duro acerbo, ora pieghevol mite,
Irato sempre e non maligno mai,
La mente e il cor meco in perpetua lite;

* Remarks, &c., on Italy, p. 62, 2nd edit.

Per lo più mesto, e talor lieto assai,
Or stimandomi Achille, ed or Tersite.
Uom, sei tu grande, o vil? Mori e il saprai."

Compare the 'Orestes,' the 'Virginia,' the 'Myrrha,' the 'Saul,' and some other of his tragic masterpieces, with his comedies and his Misogallo, and we shall almost think it was the voice of conscience that told him he was sometimes the Achilles, sometimes the Thersites of authors.

His own opinion of his dramatic supremacy may be collected from an autograph inscription, at the back of a miniature portrait of himself, which is now preserved at Holland House.

" Chi fu, che fece, e che mertò costui?
Tentò il coturno; in cui
Fors' ebbe ei pregio il non valor altrui."
— *Vittorio Alfieri.*

His example has confirmed the opinion, that genius is the distinctive merit of poets. Alfieri, whose education was very much neglected, and whose youth was sunk in the loosest dissipation *(dissipatissima)**, rose, in a few years, to the highest literary distinction, and was ranked amongst the great writers of his country. His perseverance and his ardour were, it is true, such as are rarely seen: the same perseverance, the same ardour, were employed in the production of his latter writings: his learning was greater, his knowledge of the world more extensive, and his understanding more enlightened by the progress of years, and by that revolution of which he was an eye-witness, and which sharpened even very inferior intellects: neither was he, at any period of his life, too advanced in age for mental exertion, for he was not fifty-three when he died. Yet it is incontestable that the suppression of the greater part of his posthumous publications would have been of infinite service to his fame. Perhaps he was born to shine

* See his letter to Mr. Calsabigi, printed in the preface to his tragedies.

in tragedy, and in tragedy alone; and perhaps the prodigious exertions of his first efforts exhausted his vigour and depressed his spirit, and condemned his latter years to languor and to regret. He might exclaim, with the ancient poet,

> "Non sum qualis eram: periit pars maxima nostri
> Hoc quoque, quod superest, languor et horror habent."

It is affirmed by those who knew him, that between his fits of melancholy, Alfieri conversed with warmth, but always with a certain tincture of bitterness; and it is distressing to be told that he studiously avoided all those whom he had not known for several years. He carried this aversion to new intimacies to such a length, that a letter addressed by any other than a well-known hand, and under any but the seal of a friend, was thrown into the fire unopened. It need hardly be added, that he had but two or three correspondents. The public journals and periodical papers he never once looked into for many of his latter years. Thus he had no means of becoming acquainted with his real share of that glory which had been the principal object of his life. Nor did he believe himself arrived at the position which he actually occupied in the eyes of his countrymen, and of all Europe. His melancholy divested the vanities of life of all their charms, and he refused to cherish the only illusion that could console his existence.

Count Alexander Pepoli, who inherited the wealth and the name of that powerful family which, during the middle ages, made themselves masters of Bologna, and alarmed the princes of Italy, was the contemporary, and, it may be said, the rival of Alfieri. He wrote tragedies, he wrote comedies: both the one and the other were applauded on the stage; both the one and the other now slumber in the libraries. He aspired to the invention of a new drama, which he thought Shakesperian, and which he called 'Fisedia'—a compliment to our poet, and a tacit reproof to all other writers for the stage, from Æschylus downwards. His 'Representation of Nature' pleased both the people and the

actors, but never came to a second edition. Like Alfieri, he also was passionately fond of horses, and he was bolder than our poet, for he drove a Roman car, a *quadriga*, at full gallop over some ascents and descents of the Apennines. He built a theatre for the representation of his own tragedies; he founded the magnificent printing press at Venice, from which, under the name of the *Tipografia Pepoliana*, have issued many works, and particularly several editions of the Italian historians. His daily occupations were divided, with a scrupulosity which they hardly merited, between his studies, his horses, and his table. His guests consisted of men of letters, of buffoons, of people of fashion, and of parasites. His nights were devoted to the pursuits of gallantry, in which he was sufficiently successful; for he was handsome and he was rich. His amours were occasionally postponed for his billiards, at which he lost large sums of money, in the pursuit of an excellence which he would fain have attained at all games of skill. His great ambition was to be the first *runner* in Italy, and he died in 1796, before he was forty, of a pulmonary complaint, which he had caught in a foot-race with a lacquey. He merits a place in this memoir, not for the brilliancy of his compositions, but for the shade of relief which they furnish to the similar and successful efforts of Alfieri.

HIPPOLITUS PINDEMONTE.

The Marquis John Pindemonte, eldest brother of him who will be here treated of, is a proof of the preliminary observation that a man of literature may be very popular in Italy, and yet be without that settled reputation which owes its origin to the suffrages of the learned class of readers. This nobleman, in conjunction with Pepoli, kept for some time possession of the stage. The tragedies of John Pindemonte, which are now almost forgotten, brought crowds to the theatre at the time that Alfieri was listened to with impatience. Hippolitus Pindemonte has perhaps less imagi-

nation than his brother, but he was naturally endowed with a certain delicacy of taste, the development of which, by an education truly classical, has secured for him the highest distinctions of literature. It is, however, a fact which any one will verify by a careful inquiry, that the poetry of Hippolitus Pindemonte is not relished by the generality of readers, who are nevertheless obliged to repeat his praises, having been taught that lesson by the learned distributors of literary fame, and by those who are by tacit consent allowed to possess the most cultivated taste. The same obedient crowd throng the play-houses to see the tragedies of his elder brother: but the fear of the same censors prevents them from praising the composition of their favourite dramas.

Hippolitus has also written a tragedy on the death of Arminius, the German hero, whose conspiracy against the liberties of his country was punished with death from the hand of his own relations. The style of this piece is much applauded; the plan of it is on the model of Shakespeare, without, however, a total abandonment of those ancient rules which the Italians will allow no writer to violate with impunity. He has introduced chorusses sung by young warriors and maidens, and has thus combined, with some success, the English, the Greek, and the Italian drama: as to the French plan, the example and the system of Alfieri have created a persuasion that it is irreconcileable with the Italian theatre. Whether the 'Arminius' has stood the great test does not appear in the published play. Perhaps it has been never acted, and perhaps it may be as little qualified for any stage as the 'Caractacus' and the 'Elfrida' would be for our own.

The works of Pindemonte which are most esteemed are some lyrical poems, and particularly his epistles in verse. These last contain a happy assemblage of qualities not easily combined. The Italians behold in them the amenity of Horace, the tenderness of Petrarch, and a certain gravity of ideas and sentiments, for which, perhaps, he is indebted to his acquaintance with English poetry. A similar transfusion of our style was before attempted by Mazza. The

epistles are in blank verse, the favourite metre of the present day.

This writer has not only borrowed the English style, but many individual passages of our poets, more particularly of Milton and of Gray. The plagiaries, if they may so be called, are inserted with considerable taste and effect. A great part of his youth was spent in travelling, and he lived long enough in England to become familiar with our literature. His 'Campestri' contain some copies of verses addressed to Englishmen. He speaks with enthusiastic admiration of their country; and it may be pleasing to see a fine description which he gives of a park, one of the characteristic beauties of England.

Speaking of the practice of raising tombs in gardens, he continues—

"Così eletta dimora e sì pietosa
L' Anglo talvolta, che profondi e forti
Non meno che i pensier, vanta gli' affetti,
Alle più amate ceneri destina
Nelle sue tanto celebrate ville,
Ove per gli occhi in seno, e per gli orecchi
Tanta m' entrava, e sì innocente ebbrezza.
Oh chi mi leva in alto, e chi mi porta
Tra quegli ameni, dilettosi, immensi
Boscherecci teatri! Oh chi mi posa
Su que' verdi tappeti, entro que' foschi
Solitarj ricoveri, nel grembo
Di quelle valli, ed a que' colli in vetta!
Non recise colà bellica scure
Le gioconde ombre; i consciuti asili
Là non cercaro invan gli ospiti augelli:
Nè Primavera s' ingannò, veggendo
Sparito dalla terra il noto bosco,
Che a rivestir venia delle sue frondi.
Sol nella man del giardinier solerte
Mandò lampi colà l' acuto ferro,
Che rase il prato ed agguagliollo; e i rami
Che tra lo aguardo, e le lontane scene
Si ardivano frappor, dotto corresse.
Prospetti vaghi, inaspettati incontri,
Bei sentieri, antri freschi, opachi seggi,
Lente acque e mute all' erba e ai fiori in mezzo,
Precipitanti d' alto acque tonanti,
Dirupi di sublime orror dipinti,
Campo e giardin, lusso erudito e agreste
Semplicità—Quinci ondeggiar la messe,

Pender le capre da un' aerea balza,
La valle mugolar, bellare il colle:
Quinci marmoreo sovra l'onde un ponte
Curvarsi, e un tempio biancheggiar tra il verde;
Straniere piante frondeggiar, che d'ombre
Spargono Americane il suol Brittanno,
E su ramo, che avea per altri augelli
Natura ordito, augei cantar d' Europa.
Mentre superbo delle arboree corna
Va per la selva il cervo, e spesso il capo
Volge, e ti guarda; e in mezzo all' onda il cigno
Del piè fa remo, il collo inarca, e fende
L' argenteo lago. Così bel soggiorno
Sentono i bruti stessi, e delle selve
Scuoton con istupor la cima i venti.
Deh perchè non poss' io tranquilli passi
Muovere ancor per quelle vie, celarmi
Sotto l'intreccio ancor di que' frondosi
Rami ospitali, e udir da lunge appena
Mugghiar del Mondo la tempesta, urtarsi
L' un contro l'altro popolo, corone
Spezzarsi, e scettri? oh quanta strage! oh quanto
Scavar di fosse, e traboccar di corpi
E ai condottier trafitti alzar di tombe!"

It was, however, neither our parks nor our learned leisure that awakened such lively feelings, and called forth such ardent vows for his return to England. Our women must share the merit of the inspiration, for Pindemonte has given the initial of some nymph who had the good fortune to be the object of his first real, as well as his first poetic, passion. It may perhaps be flattering to this person, if she is still in existence, to know that the poet's verses to Miss H * * * are esteemed by the Italians as some of his best, and not unworthy of comparison with those which have immortalized the charms of Laura. They are in the form of a canzone, in the manner of Petrarch, and the two first stanzas are as follows:

"O Giovenetta, che la dubbia via
Di nostra vita, pellegrina allegra,
Con pié non sospettoso imprimi ed orni;
Sempre così propizio il ciel ti sia!
Nè adombri mai nube improvvisa e negra
L' innocente seren de' tuoi bei giorni.

Non che il Mondo ritorni
A te quanto gli dai tu di dolcezza,
Ch' egli stesso ben sa non poter tanto.
Valle è questa di pianto
E gran danno qui spesso è gran bellezza,
Qui dove perde agevolmente fama
Qual più vaga si chiama :
Come andrà l' alma mia giojosa e paga !
Se impunemente esser potrai si vaga !
Il men di che può donna esser cortese
Ver chi l' ha di sè stesso assai più cara
Da te, vergine pura, io non vorrei :
Veder in te quella che pria m' accese
Bramo, e sol temo che men grande e cara
Ciò ti faccia parere agli occhi miei.
Nè volontier torrei
Di spargerti nel sen foco amoroso,
Chè quanto è a me più noto il fiero ardore
Delitto far maggiore
Mi parrìa se turbassi il tuo riposo.
Maestro io primo ti sarò d' affanno ?
O per me impareranno
Nuovi affanni i tuoi giorni, ed interrotti
Sonni per me le tue tranquille notti ? "

The whole of the remainder of this canzone gives a flattering picture of the beauty, of the modesty, and of the unaffected graces, of the English young women of that day; and the delicacy of such a passion redounds not less to the credit of the poet than of the lady, who must either have been naturally exempt from the ambition of coquetry, or must have taken great pains to conceal it.

The same author has published a romance in prose, which, as far as regards the apparent purpose of the work, reminds us of Rasselas. But Pindemonte's 'Abarite' has failed to procure him the reputation of a distinguished prose writer. For purity, for erudition, for polish, it is not inferior to his verses, but it wants the charm of those pleasing compositions. His prefaces, his literary correspondence, and his little biographies, have never been seriously criticised, and are perhaps not worth it.

He has been assailed, like all other writers, by repeated criticisms; but those criticisms have made little noise, and, however they may have really affected him, have not dis-

turbed his apparent tranquillity. The baseness of flattery, the bitterness of censure, will not be found in the personal allusions of Pindemonte. His writings, like his conversation, are those of an accomplished gentleman.

He has always in theory been devoted to the cause of liberty; but at the coming of the French he laid down for his conduct one *inviolable maxim*—Hide thy life; *notwithstanding that his eldest brother and many of his friends have been actively engaged with different political parties.** He has confined himself to some poetical complaints of the ravages and degradation which the sword of the stranger has for so many ages inflicted on his unhappy country.

From the beginning of the Revolution he has passed his time between Venice and Verona, his native town, and chiefly employed upon a translation of the Odyssey. There are many Italian translations of Homer, but not one has yet obtained that complete success which the voice of the nation, and the sanction of the learned world, alone can bestow. Pindemonte has, it is probable, judiciously selected this poem in preference to the 'Iliad,' which would have required more imagination and more energy than are the characteristics of his style. The two first books were published some time ago, and Italy was as impatient as such a prospect can make her, for the remainder of the performance. The whole translation appeared at the close of the last year, but what was the effect or judgment resulting from it, cannot, of course, yet be known. The poet's health has of late years been much on the decline, and obliged him to proceed leisurely with his occupation. He has passed his sixtieth year, and age and infirmity have made him devout. His spiritual exercises occupy a considerable portion of his time, and plunge him into that consuming solitude which a more rational religion would teach him to exchange for the active duties and social amusements of life.

* See his own declaration in the preface to his 'Epistles,' published at Verona in the year 1805.

This author is not ranked amongst the men of surpassing genius which Italy has produced, and, perhaps, ought not to be; but the assiduity of his studies, the consummate skill with which he has known where to employ, and how to develop his superior abilities, the sleepless care with which he has watched over the rise, and preserved the integrity of his fame, the decorum both of his life and writings, have secured for him the undisputed possession of the first place in the intermediate class, between the great masters of the art, and those who write to captivate the multitude. This intermediate class, although, as in the present instance, it occasionally produces an author, is composed for the most part of those who may be called rather learned readers than learned writers. Such a class has sprung up partially amongst ourselves, but with this difference, that our critics, although they do not condescend to advance in the regular uniform of writers, still appear in print, and that not unfrequently; whereas in Italy they seldom take up the pen, and acquire by that discretion a dignity which gives more weight to their oral decisions. These persons have received what we call a *regular* education, are familiar with, and formed upon, the classical writers, both ancient and modern; and, by an habitual application of the prescribed rules to every popular performance, are the self instituted, but undisputed, arbiters of taste. There are five or six of these in every considerable town; and one set, some of whom are perhaps authors, has so much influence in all the provincial critics, that not even the writers of a respectable class dare to pronounce their opinion without a previous inquiry at the recognised oracle. A great compiler, Tiraboschi for instance, would not have ventured to speak of a contemporary until he knew what judgment had been pronounced by Bettinelli or Roberti.

These persons establish, by the union of their suffrages, a reputation which is sure not to be ephemeral. But there is yet another class of readers, whom it is prudent to gain before an author can promise himself

"The life to come in every poet's creed."

These are the men of cultivated minds, *the men of the world*; a vague phrase, but which will be understood, although it cannot be precisely defined. With the combined verdict of the former as the guardians of the language, and of the latter as the organ of the feelings of his countrymen, the Italian author may be secure that the common readers will follow in a crowd, and, like the Romans to Augustus, raise frequent altars to his living merit.

VINCENZO MONTI.

This poet has always enjoyed, and still enjoys a sort of pre-eminence, of which, notwithstanding all the world seems agreed upon his claims, he has often been very nearly deprived. His subjects have, for the most part, been popular and occasional. He has laid hold of the most interesting events of the moment: he has sustained the preponderating opinions, and he has invariably advocated the interests of the succeeding reigning powers. With such advantages, it is not strange that he should have found many willing and eager readers; nor is it more strange that all the various governments, one after the other, should have continued to rank him amongst their partisans. It may excite somewhat more surprise to remark the air not only of enthusiasm, but of sincerity, with which he has delivered his contradictory panegyrics, and to admire the address, with which he appears rather repentant than changeful, and converts the dictates of interest into a case of conscience. By turns flattering and irritating every party, he has not only roused the passions of his contemporaries, but has given them a direction towards himself. His real merit, and the advantage derived from his powerful pen by the triumphant faction, have protected him from neglect; and that prostitution of talents which would have rendered him either odious or ridiculous in England, has been less contemptible in a country where there is more indifference, and less intelligence employed, in the review of political transactions.

For three centuries not a single Italian poet had raised his voice against the will or the wish of the powerful. Alfieri and Parini had made the first noble exception to this submission, and it was more easy to admire than imitate so rare an example. Monti, independent of the difference of natural disposition, was not born to the wealth of Alfieri, nor was he thrown into the same juncture of circumstances that had favoured the Milanese poet; neither had he been formed by that independent education which both the one and the other had enjoyed. In a word, Monti was brought up at the court of Rome.

The charm of Monti's poetry consists in a pleasing union of the soft and the strong. His ideas are strikingly clear, his sentiments are full of fire, his verses are truly melodious, and his imagery is highly embellished, and has received the last finishing and decoration of taste. He has, indeed, touched nothing that he has not adorned. If his polish is confined to the surface, not only himself but his readers are content without inquiring into the depth of his capacity.

Monti owed the first diffusion of his reputation to his 'Aristodemus,' a tragedy which, to use the language of the stage, is a stock play in constant acting, notwithstanding the passion and interest are totally confined to the chief character. The dialogue was found to have more warmth, and colouring, and energy, than that of Metastasio, who was then in possession of the stage; and the audience were not terrified even by the shadow of that harshness, and violence, and obscurity, which characterised the tragedies of Alfieri, who was just emerging into notice, and regarded as a wild irregular genius, scarcely within the pale of literary civilisation. Monti then was the tragic writer of Italy, and was confidently hailed as the successful candidate for an eminence as yet never occupied.

He afterwards published two other tragedies: 'Galeotto Manfredi,' which is not only far below his Aristodemus, but beneath the talents of the author, and 'Caius Gracchus.' Some fine passages constitute the sole merit of the last

tragedy, into which he has introduced some scenes that the Italians are pleased to call *by far too natural*—"*assai troppo naturali.*" These scenes were expressly imitated from Shakespeare, and succeeded at first—nobody, however dared to applaud them in the subsequent representations. The critical spectators near the orchestra, and the closet-judges, having once condemned that which appears to militate against classical authority, their sentence is irrevocable: the people have not a voice; or, if they dare to speak, are not heard. The defects of Monti's tragedies are reducible to the insignificance of his characters, to the irregularity of his plot, and to a style sometimes too lyrical, sometimes too tame. These were discovered by the audience, and perhaps by the poet, for he laid no further claim to the throne of Melpomene.

The work of his which has made the most noise is the 'Cantica in morte di Ugo Basville,' published in Rome in 1793, when the author was about thirty-five years of age. This poem is even now considered superior to the subsequent productions of this fruitful writer, who has never laid aside, and still holds the pen. An edition of it has been published in London by Mr. Matthias, with the title 'La Revoluzione Franceze,' and another appeared at Paris with another name, 'Le Dante Ingentilito.' It would be difficult to guess at the motive for these changes, with which it is probable the poet was not made acquainted; and it would be more difficult still to justify the usurpation of rights which appear to belong only to the author.

Hugh Basville was a man of letters, employed on a mission at Rome by the National Convention. His object was, probably, to sow the seeds of democracy, and to watch the conduct of the papal government in the approaching revolution. Others there are, however, who affirm that he was only on his return from the court of Naples, where he had been secretary of the French Legation, and that he was charged with no such mission. This is asserted in one of the numbers of the 'Gazette des Maires,' published at Paris by Captain de Basville, who has

undertaken to justify his father's memory. The Roman populace, however, looked upon him as a Jacobin spy, murdered him, and pillaged his house. The capital of the world indulged in a savage triumph at this exploit, and the ministers of the pope, by their inactivity to punish, were suspected of participating in the crime. But Pius VI. was generous enough to save the wife and child of Basville from the rage of the multitude. On this occasion Monti wrote his poem.

According to the anecdotes contained in some pamphlets, and, amongst others, in one called 'Esame su le accuse contro V. Monti,' published at Milan in 1798, Monti was the friend of Basville; and it is certain, that in the greater part of his subsequent writings he showed himself a friend of the revolution. His poem justified the court of Rome, perpetuated the name of his friend, and saved himself from the perils of his late intimacy with a Jacobin. The plan of this work is very simple. Basville repents and dies, and is pardoned by the Almighty. An angel conducts his spirit across those kingdoms of the earth which had been desolated by the wars and crimes of the French revolution. They arrive at Paris at the moment that Louis XVI. is mounting the scaffold. The spirit of the king, ascending to heaven, meets the shade of Basville, and the angel makes them known to each other. The king questions him, and Basville narrates the cause and the manner of his death.

"La fronte sollevò, rizzossi in piedi
L'addolorato spirto; e le pupille
Tergendo, a dire i cominciò: Tu vedi,
Signor, nel tuo cospetto Ugo Basville
Dalla Francese Libertà mandato
Sul Tebro a suscitar l'empie scintille,
Stolto! che volli con l'immobil fato
Cozzar della gran Roma, onde ne porto
Rotta la tempia e il fianco insanguinato.
Chè di Giuda il Leon non anco è morto
Ma vive e rugge; e il pelo arruffa e gli occhi
Terror d' Egitto, e d' Israel conforto:
E se monta in furor, l' aste, e gli stocchi
Sa spezzar de' nemici; e par che gride
'SON LO SDEGNO DI DIO: NESSUN MI TOCCHI.'"

Here Basville confesses the crime which brought him to his end, and lauds the vengeance of Rome and of the Lion of Judah. But the above quotation suggests another remark, which will be found more or less true of all Monti's works; namely, that he has not scrupled to insert the ideas and the turns of expression of former poets in his best verses. The beginning of this canto reminds us of that of Dante's Ugolino.

"La bocca sollevò dal fero pasto
Quel peccator—
Poi cominciò: Tu vuoi"—

and the last verse is evidently from Petrarch,

"Son del Cesare mio: nessun mi tocchi."

Monti indeed regards it as a portion of his art, and a proof of his talents, successfully to employ the fine thoughts and the phrases of the great writers. No modern author has, perhaps, so freely imitated others as Monti; but no modern author has so frankly confessed his obligations and his gratitude. His notes abound with the passages from which he has borrowed, and he has the praise of sometimes improving upon his originals, and of always introducing them in proper time and place. So far from accusing him of plagiary, we are rather agreeably surprised by the new aspect which he gives to beauties already familiar to every reader.

The fourth canto of the poem prepares us for the war of the coalesced potentates to revenge the death of Louis XVI. The soul of Basville is condemned by the poet to expiate his crime, by beholding the horrors of the Revolution, and by wandering without the precincts of Paradise until France shall have received the punishment of her regicide:

"Finchè non sia di Francia ultro il delitto."

According to this plan, Monti had opened an unbounded field for his exertions, and by merely following the progress of events, he would have avoided those difficulties

with which the necessity of inventing and arranging a series of fictions, has embarrassed the greater part of all poetical writers. He would only have had to select the most remarkable traits in the astonishing history of our times, and to divide them, according to the rules of his art and the power of his genius, into pictures which should command the delight and wonder of posterity. The difficulty of handling a contemporary topic was not too great for the capacity of Monti, and had he continued his Basville to the victory of Waterloo, he might have occupied, next to Dante, that place which Virgil possesses not far from Homer.

The voyage of the angel with the shade of Basville is taken from that of Dante with the spirit of Virgil. The *terze rime*, a metre perfected by the father of Italian poetry, was, in the true sense of the word, *ennobled* (*ingentilito*) by Monti. It is true that he has not the same harmonious variety, nor the same boldness of expression, nor the same loftiness of thought as are found in his model. But he is more equal, more clear, more finished in every part: his images have not only the stable grandeur, but even the glossy whiteness of Parian sculpture; and although they succeed each other with astonishing rapidity, and force, and boldness, preserve an elegance peculiar to themselves, more especially in the *terze rime*, which no one has ever employed with the same success. It is probable that Monti will never be surpassed in this metre: but in the heroic stanza he could not come into the field against Ariosto and Tasso; and in blank verse, Cesarotti, Parini, and Foscolo have been more adventurous and more successful.

Monti had scarcely published the fourth canto of his poem (which, such as he left it, does not amount to 1500 lines) when the French conquered Lombardy. Perhaps it was fear, perhaps it was interest, or more likely still inclination, that seduced him from Rome, and settled him in the capital of the new Cisalpine republic. On this occasion he quitted the service of the Duke of Braschi, the nephew of Pius VI. Prelates, cardinals, and even popes,

had begun by being secretaries like himself; but Monti was a married man—he was a poet, and he was not besides in the good graces of his Holiness. He one day presented Pius with a magnificent edition of his poetry, and the Pontiff condescended to accept it: but added, at the same time, after quoting some verses of Metastasio, "*No one, now a days, writes like that great poet.*"

Monti was now the poet of the popular assemblies, of the armies, of the democratic dinners, which rose together at the institution of the new republic; and his patriotic hymns have, almost alone, survived the innumerable copies of verses, inspired by occasions so animating. But he did not confine himself to songs; he wrote with sober severity against the priests: such are his 'Superstizione,' and his 'Fanatismo,' and his 'Visione,' in which the shade of Louis XVI. is changed from the martyr of his Basville into a hideous spectre. Neither his labours nor his devotion could, however, obtain for Monti the confidence or even the pardon of the friends of the revolution. We learn this from his own lips; for he complains of it, and leaves nothing untried to convince his fellow citizens of his sincerity, and begs at least for pity, in the opening of one of his poems, in which he brings himself upon the stage, and assumes the imploring pathetic attitude of the father of a family.

"Stendi dolce amor mio, sposa diletta,
A quell' arpa la man, che la soave
Dolce fatica di tue dita aspetta!
Svegliami l' armonia ch' entro le cave
Latèbre alberga del sonoro legno,
E de' forti pensier volgi la chiave."

These were to Monti days of humiliation, and of bitterness, and of danger. The legislative council passed a severe and unjust law against those who, before the Italian Revolution, had written in favour of tyranny; and it was seen that this law was directed more particularly against the author of the 'Basvilliana.' The low retainers of literature, under the pretext of patriotism, now gave vent to their

jealousy, and assailed Monti with scurrilities equally violent and mean.

His friends had procured him a place in the commissariat of Romagna: but he was accused of peculation and carried before a tribunal.—The calumny was proved, and the defendant acquitted, but no steps were taken to punish the calumniators.

Such were the dangers of his position, or such was the inconstancy of his soul, that Monti disgraced himself beyond the wishes of his rivals. Pius VI. was carried off from Rome by the French, and the poet chose this forced migration of his former master for the occasion of an invective imitated from that ode of Horace in which the Roman republic is compared to a ship tossed by the wind and waves, and steering for the harbour. No protestant pen has ever traced invectives more severe against the Great Harlot than are poured forth by the repentant Secretary.

"Di mala merce e di dolor vai carca,
O Nave, che dal Tosco al Sardo lito
Porti il gran Pescator, che in infinito
Mar di colpe ha di Pier rotta la barca:
Vedi come t'insegue e il dorso inarca
L'onda irata? de' venti odi il ruggito?
Prendi porto, sollecita il pentito
Remo e di tanto peccator ti scarca."

Dante had before called upon the islands of Capraja and Gorgona to block up the mouth of the Arno, and drown the inhabitants of Pisa for their cruelty to the children of Ugolino; and Monti now invoked Sardinia, and told it to fly away, that the *last of monsters* might not find even a tomb to shelter him.

"E dritto fora
Non dar di tomba nè d'arena un velo
All' ultimo de' mostri."

Monti at least revenged himself of Pius for placing him below Metastasio.

It was but a short time afterwards that Suvaroff and the Austrians made themselves masters of Italy. Monti fled

to France, and the distresses of his exile gave a new vigour and a dignity to his exertions.

Mascheroni, a mathematician, much esteemed in Italy, and a writer of verses admired for their elegance, had distinguished himself for his enthusiastic love of liberty, and, what was much more rare, by his noble integrity of character and purity of manners. He also had escaped, on the same occasion, to Paris, where he died. Monti thought this a good opportunity for writing another poem, which he called 'The Death of Mascheroni' (In Morte di Mascheroni), on the plan of his Basville. The spirit of his hero is in like manner made to traverse the earth, and in his view of the changes of Italy beholds the advantages of liberty and the pernicious effects of popular licentiousness. The political aim of this poem is more useful, and the subject is better handled, than in the Death of Basville; but the author could not refuse himself the satisfaction of consigning to perpetual infamy the names of his demagogue persecutors.

The Italians discover a greater variety and interest in the scenes presented to the notice of Mascheroni than in those of Basville. They think the style less pointed, but more rich and more graceful, and they look upon the *terze rime* as less monotonous and more harmonious than any of his former specimens. The plan was equally vast with that of his first poem, and it was, like Basville, also stopped at the fourth canto: for Bonaparte became Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and Monti hastened to publish six cantos of another poem; these were to be the first part of a long work which he called 'The Bard of the Black Forest' (Il Bardo della Selva Nera).

It must be owned that the conception of this poem is vastly puerile. The author is obliged to imagine that there are bards who deal in verse and prophecy yet to be found by those who look for them; and just such a one as Cæsar and Lucan saw in the depths of Germany is discovered by Monti in 1805, hidden somewhere in the Black Forest. This bard has a daughter, Malvina, who is sur-

prised into a sentimental passion for a French officer, who has been wounded in the battle of Albeck. The victories of Napoleon are chanted forth by the same officer, who it seems succeeds in persuading the bard of the advantages of imperial despotism, for he prophesies the absolute monarchy of the triumphant warrior.

This poem is in different metres, in blank verse, in heroical and in lyrical stanzas—a mixture which has had great success with us, but is far from agreeable to the Italians, who have been taught by Dante to run into any embarrassments rather than facilitate the art of poetry.

Monti left this poem also incomplete; and Napoleon, to encourage the continuation of a prophecy so flattering, created him a knight of two orders, and gave him a thousand louis d'ors. The emperor also assigned him a pension, and made him his historiographer.

The foregoing censure of the bard of the Black Forest should be accompanied with the confession that it contains some admirable passages. Such is the description of the night after a bloody battle.

" Pallido intanto su l'Abnobie rupi
Il Sol cadendo, raccoglica d'intorno
Dalle cose i colori, e alla pietosa
Notte del mondo concedea la cura;
Ed ella del regal suo velo eterno
Spiegando il lembo, raccendea negli astri
La morta luce, e la spegnea sul volto
Degli stanchi mortali. Era il tuon queto
De' fulmini guerrieri, e ne vagava
Sol per la valle il fumo atro, confuso
Colle nebbie de' boschi e de' torrenti:
Eran quete le selve, eran dell' aure
Queti i sospiri; ma lugubri e cupi
S'udian gemiti e grida in lontananza
Di languenti trafitti, e un calpestio
Di cavalli e di fanti, e sotto il grave
Peso de' bronzi un cigolio di rote
Che mestizia e terror mettea nel core."

Monti, in this poem, has with his usual tasté profited by the Ossian of Cesarotti and the French prose translation of Gray's odes, and of Shakespeare. He does not read English,

but he is as ardent an admirer of our great dramatist as he is of Dante. The writer has heard him pronounce his decided judgment, that the world has produced but three *poets*, properly so called; and Homer, with the two just mentioned, form his triumvirate. The two following stanzas will be seen to have been copied from the speech of Ulysses in 'Troilus and Cressida,' where the necessity of a monarchy is deduced from the pre-eminence of the sun above the stars.

"Delle stelle monarca egli s'asside
Sul trono della luce; e con eterna
Unica legge il moto, e i rai divide
Ai seguaci pianeti, e li governa.
Per lui Natura si feconda e ride;
Per lui la danza armonica s'alterna
Delle stagion; per lui nullo si spia
Grano di polve che vital non sia.
E cagion sola del mirando effetto
È la costante eguale unica legge
Con che il raggiante imperador l'aspetto
Delle create cose alto corregge.
Togli questa unità, togli il perfetto
Tenor de' varj moti, onde si regge
L'armonia de' frenati orbi diversi,
E tutti li vedrai confusi e spersi."

Monti undertook a translation of the 'Iliad;' and he undertook it confessing that he knew nothing of Greek, but copied after the literal interpretations in Latin, the various commentators, and the poetical versions of all his predecessors. He depended solely upon his talents for versification, and the charms of his style. His readers were equally confident with himself; and their previous persuasion secured him the first applauses with which his translation was welcomed even by the Greek scholars, who were happy to accept of so powerful an ally in their contest with Cesarotti. It was, however, discovered that a translation made by one who was ignorant of the original could not be depended upon. The distrust spread even to those who were themselves equally unacquainted with the Greek text; and the censures of the learned were heard and

multiplied in every quarter. They have by degrees been pushed to an extreme equally unjustifiable with the first praises of this translation. Monti had heard of the simplicity of Homer: he wished to imitate this quality, which is so much eulogised, and so little capable of definition. To accomplish this project, he sprinkled his phrases with Italian *idiotisms;* and he moreover was prodigal of words from the *Latin*, which, although they have a certain classical air, and are well chosen, expressive, and clear, and enrich the language, give, however, a prosaic and pedantic air, that renders his manner disagreeable and dry. He has almost always faithfully given the meaning of Homer, but he has frequently omitted to lay hold of those minute and accessory beauties which form in fact the exclusive merit of great writers, and which, as they are rather felt than seen, are the despair of the most expert translator.

Monti has given an agreeable colouring to the pictures of the 'Iliad;' but he has not always been sufficiently exact in his representation of him, who is as it were the master of *design*, and the father of all the great artists. He is simple and he is easy, but he is not natural: he has more fire than strength. It must still be allowed that the verses and style of Monti render his 'Iliad' more agreeable than it appears in the meagre translation of Salvini, or in the *rifaccimento* of Cesarotti. He may at least pretend to the double merit of having done better than others, and of having excited others to do better than him.

As to the general method, his style is founded upon the exquisite example furnished by Virgil in his imitations of the Greek poet; and as far as respects the versification, he has studied the translation of the 'Eneid' by Hannibal Caro, which Monti considers as the purest model of blank verse, and the true depository of the riches and the elegance of the Italian language. His version, like that of his prototype, is, in fact, invariably flowing, and derives its chief excellence from periods well rounded, and a cadence always agreeable. The numbers and the accents of each verse are *comparatively* neglected. This manner of

writing flatters the ear, and is not so varied as to be fatiguing, but it is liable to the monotony which offends us in Ovid, and is still more striking in a language more melodious and less sonorous than the Latin, and whose heroic verses have not the advantage of the hexametral length.

Monti has also translated Persius, and has given to him a clearness of idea and a softness of expression not to be found in the most obscure and the harshest of all the ancient poets. Yet he has rendered some satires line for line, and bound himself by the test before applied by Davanzati to Tacitus. This translation has ceased to be spoken of, except to cite those notes which were composed by the author in 1803, in the height of his enthusiasm for republics, and of his detestation of the vice and tyranny of the Roman Emperors.

The talents of Monti were devoted, with a constancy proportioned to the duration of the French power, to the praise of Napoleon, his unwearied patron. But neither the attachment of the poet, nor the liberality of the Emperor, contributed, in the expected degree, to the reputation of the author or to the glory of his imperial Mecænas. When Napoleon, after the battle of Jena, sent the sword of Frederic II. to Paris, Monti wrote a poem in one canto, and called it the 'Sword of Frederic.' But 'La Spada di Federico' had some defects, not only of composition and style, but even in the versification, which the partisans of Bonaparte themselves could not pardon, and accordingly attacked with a success dangerous to the superiority of Monti, who ran a second risk of losing his pre-eminence by a poem which he published two or three years afterwards, and called the 'Palingenesis.' This *Regeneration* was the system of Pythagoras demonstrated in the metamorphoses produced in the world by the genius of Bonaparte; and the apparent object of Monti was to rival the 'Pronéa' of Cesarotti. Monti had not the same excuse as the Paduan poet: he was not very aged, nor did he write at the express order of the

Emperor. But his 'Palingenesis' was not more fortunate than the 'Pronéa.'

The odes published by Monti on the usual occasions of victories and treaties of peace, on the marriages and the births of princes, and which he struck off at a heat with inconceivable rapidity, are most of them finished to perfection. Even those which are on the whole but middling performances contain stanzas cited by the Italians as masterpieces in this way of writing.

"Lassù, dov' anco
Il muto arriva
Gemer del verme che calcato spira;
Del Nume al fianco
Siede una Diva,
Che chiusa in negro ammanto
Scrive i delitti coronati, e all' ira
Di Dio presenta delle genti il pianto."

The series of Monti's poems would not be completely cited without mentioning three of considerable length—'Il Prometeo,' 'La Musogonia,' and 'La Feroniade,' of which he has published only the first cantos and some fragments. The second of these is an imitation of Hesiod. The allegory of Prometheus furnishes a clear and poetical development of the merit and the perilous course of that superior order of beings who dedicate their lives to the enlightening of the human race, and displays the ingratitude of the people towards the defenders of their liberty, and the despotism which is the closing scene of every political drama. 'La Feroniade,' a name borrowed from that of the nymph cited by Virgil and Horace, and who was one of the Roman deities that had a temple in the Pontine Marshes, was a poem composed for Pius VI., who had undertaken to drain and cultivate and people those marshes. The enemies of Monti republished some passages of these three poems, to show that he had substituted the eulogy of his new protectors by the erasure of those originally inserted in praise of the Pope.

The prose of Monti is distinguished for the ease, the clearness, the harmony, and the metaphorical richness which characterise his verses; but the style is unequal, and now and then infected with *Gallicisms*. The poetical diction of Italy has, by the efforts of many great writers, retained its purity through the revolutions of five centuries; but the prose has been subject to the changes of time, and to the invasion of foreign arms and foreign literature. Monti has been lately occupied with a laborious work, meant to supply the void left by the Cruscan academicians in their dictionary, and to counteract the prejudices of the too rigorous adherents of the old school, and the bold dogmas of licentious innovators. It is thought that in this work, the offspring of his cooler reflection and directed to aims more useful, he will avoid those inaccuracies of haste and passion which disfigured his previous performances, and degraded them into mere personal controversies. An exception should be made in favour of two or three discourses, published when he was professor at Pavia. One of them is much praised, and perhaps not a little owing to the subject of which it treats, namely, *Of the scientific discoveries which foreigners have usurped to themselves, to the prejudice of the Italian inventors.* Monti showed his patriotism in this treatise, but much could not be said of his knowledge or of his equity. Even his eloquence was more lively than vigorous. He threw down his glove in defiance of all foreigners, but more especially of the French, and was backed by his countrymen, who have fallen into the absurdity of depreciating the present merit of other nations, by comparing it with the past glories of their ancestors.

Monti has never been wise enough to laugh at silly criticisms, nor was he ever known to spare a powerless adversary. Having been rudely attacked, he has always defended himself rudely. He seems to have looked upon a censure of his writings as an obstacle thrown maliciously in the way of his fortune. In this temper he told the Abate Bettinelli, "*It is not the poet that these people want to attack; no, it is the*

historiographer of Napoleon; and they conspire to make me appear in his eyes a contemptible writer." *

He tried, therefore, to persuade the court and the ministers to prosecute his adversaries: but it should be told that he employed the same influence in the promotion of his friends. Towards them Monti is truly the warmest and the most devoted of men, and is ready for every generous sacrifice as long as he feels assured that he has no reason to suspect the loyalty of their attachment.

His violent literary disputes with his distinguished contemporaries, with Mazza, Cesarotti, and Bettinelli, have all terminated by a solicitation of their friendship; and he has not refused to restore his confidence to others who, having grievously offended him, have intreated to be reconciled. It has happened to him to quarrel with and to pardon the same individual several times.

The habit of writing on temporary topics may explain, perhaps, the care which he takes to acquire renown by efforts which, in the end, frequently terminate in the loss of it. He is afraid of the very newspaper writers, and is ambitious of their suffrages. He keeps up a regular correspondence with all the men of letters in Italy, and barters with them the usual commodity of mutual adulation. He is, however, sincere enough with those young writers who ask his advice, and contrives to encourage them without flattery and to instruct them without arrogance. He repeats verses inimitably: he is eloquent in his conversation, which is generally of the softer kind; but the slightest contradiction provokes him to a vehement defence of positions which he abandons the next day with perfect indifference.

It is probable that the inconstancy, as well as the momentary eagerness of certain individuals, is to be attributed less to education than to nature. The life of Dryden can

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* 'Lettera all' Abate Bettinelli,' Milano, 1809.

scarcely be compared in a single instance with that of Monti; nor is the poetry, nor even the character of the English laureate, at all similar to that of the Italian. The above disgraceful quality they have, however, in common with each other.[2] Both of them have degraded the literature to which they owe their fame, by making it subservient to their private interests, at the expense of truth and of honour. Both of them have been systematic flatterers of the powerful and the great, and both of them have wanted the requisite consolations of old age.

Monti had pursued the Austrians with the war of words, after each of their repeated defeats. When they re-appeared as conquerors, they deprived him of almost all his pensions; but they bargained at the same time for a *cantata* from his pen, which was set to music and sung in the theatre, to welcome their return to Italy. It is neither a hazardous nor a severe reflection to assert that this poet must look back with feelings of bitter regret upon sixty years of laborious and brilliant exertions, which are about to end for ever, and which have left him in the enjoyment neither of an independent fortune nor of a spotless reputation, nor of those fixed principles without the possession of which no one can, without trembling, dare to contemplate the close of his career.

A splendid example and a warning for an apostate generation—

> "Petite hinc juvenesque senesque
> Finem animo certum, miserisque viatica canis."

Hugo Foscolo.

When the revolution of 1795 gave a shock to principles for ages established in Italy, and set in motion the spirits and the interests of the inhabitants of every province, the writers before mentioned had all of them published those works which gave them a fixed reputation with their countrymen.

Hugo Foscolo was at that time a youth, but not too young to profit by the friendship and the example of his distinguished contemporaries. The total change in the political condition of his country, his military education, and the part which he played in public affairs, developed, however, his talents, and formed his character in a manner quite different from that of his predecessors: besides, the circumstances under which he wrote arrived too late to form their style, and being now gone by, may perhaps require a course of ages to reproduce.

Foscolo laid it down for a principle that Italian poetry had expired with Tasso, and had been re-resuscitated only in the present day. Hear his own words:—

"Senza l'Ossian del Cesarotti, Il Giorno del Parini, Vittorio Alfieri, e Vincenzo Monti, la nostra poesia si giacerebbe tuttavia sepolta con le ceneri di Torquato Tasso. Da indi in quà un secolo la inorpellò, e l'altro la immiserì. L'Ossian può far dare nello strano; il Parini nel leccato; l'Alfieri nell' aspro; e il Monti nell' ornato: ma le umane virtù non fruttano senza l'innesto d'un vizio. I grandi ingegni emuleranno: i mezzani scimiotterrano: e coloro che esplorano i propri meriti nelle altrui colpe, si getteranno simili a corvi sovra le piaghe de' generosi cavalli."

This passage, extracted from his Preface to an experiment for translating the Iliad, printed at Brescia in 1807,* may serve for a specimen of his style and of his literary opinions.

He commenced his career a year before the fall of the Venetian republic, with a tragedy called 'Thyestes.' Being angry at the little attention paid by the Venetians to the tragedies of Alfieri, and at the corrupted taste which made them prefer and applaud those of the Marquis Pindemonte and of Count Pepoli, he resolved that his drama should have only four personages; and that the simplicity and severity of his whole composition should rival Alfieri and the Greek tragedians. With this hardy project, he

* 'Esperimento di traduzion dell' Iliade.'

contrived that his play should be acted on the same night when two new pieces from the pen of the above Marquis and Count were to be represented at other theatres of the same town. The courage and the youth of the author enabled him to triumph over his rivals, and his 'Thyestes' received more applause than perhaps it deserved. The actors published it in the tenth volume of the 'Teatro Italiano Applaudito,' subjoining to it an account of its great success, and a criticism written in favour of the author. Foscolo himself adopted the extraordinary proceeding of publishing a severe censure of his own work, the success of which he attributed solely to its conformity with the great models of antiquity. The pamphlet was ill received by the public, and the Venetians painted the portrait of the young poet in the drop-curtain of the Fenice Theatre, among those who had a better claim to this distinction. The 'Thyestes' is still occasionally acted, and is sustained by the warmth of the dialogue and the strength of the dramatic passions, but the style is so harsh as to be insupportable to the reader.

The learned of Italy speak neither well nor ill of the 'Letters of Ortis,' which, however, has been more frequently reprinted in his own country than any other of Foscolo's works, and is certainly much more known on the other side of the Alps. The Germans have exhausted upon this little book all the metaphysics of criticism; they have translated it twice, and a certain professor Luden has accompanied his version with a whole volume of dissertations. After all, it is but an imitation of Werter. There is, however, this striking difference, that the object of the Italian is solely political. There is indeed something for all tastes in the politics, and the poetry, and the love of Ortis. The allusions to the downfall of the Venetian republic, and the introduction of living interlocutors, such as Parini at Milan, give a reality to the fable which must be highly interesting to the Italians, and is attractive even to strangers. There is a melancholy patriotism in every word in which he mentions Italy, that makes the author

respectable in the eyes of every generous reader. There are some pictures of small objects that evince a considerable knowledge of the human heart, and are extremely affecting. The little dog of the lady who falls in love with Ortis may be mentioned as one. The author is in his proper element when he breaks forth into his ethical reflections: how truly he says, "That we are too proud to give our compassion when we feel we can give nothing else."

The love of Ortis is, perhaps, the least interesting portion of the work; there is not importance enough attached to his existence to make it natural that so much importance should be attached to his end. It was difficult, perhaps, to give many attractions to the adventures of an obscure politician; but it is still possible that those of an age and sex more accessible to the tender feelings may be touched by the misfortunes and the heroic despair of the Italian Werter. But 'Ortis' may boast of having been the first book that induced the females and the mass of readers to interest themselves in public affairs. This was a mighty exploit in a country where one maxim had been for ages the groundwork of education for all classes of society, *De Deo parum, de Principe nihil.* It is difficult at this day to find in Italy an edition of the 'Letters of Ortis' altogether exempt from those mutilations which the revisors of one kind or another have inflicted on this romance. In spite, however, of all their prudent efforts, it has been found impossible to emasculate every page which launches forth invectives against the corruption of the old government, against the foreign usurpation of the new, and lastly against the treachery with which the French general bought and sold the republic of Venice.

Chiari and Piazza, and other common writers, had before published some hundreds of romances, which had been the delight only of the vulgar reader; for those of a more refined taste had resorted to the foreign novels. The 'Letters of Ortis' is the only work of the kind, the boldness of whose thoughts and the purity of whose language, com-

bined with a certain easy style, have suited it to the taste of every reader. It cannot be too often remarked that it is principally the *style* which in all works attracts the admiration of the Italians; and it may here be mentioned that their critics have laid it down as a rule that the elements of their prose are to be collected only in the period between Dante and Machiavelli. This is the opinion of Alfieri.*

Foscolo has followed this rule in his 'Ortis,' and more scrupulously still in the 'Sentimental Journey,' which he has translated with the words and phrases of the fourteenth century; not, however, to the prejudice of the conversational ease of our Yorick. This work, so popular in all foreign countries, had been twice before translated into Italian; but the torpidity of their style, and their repeated Gallicisms, had consigned these preceding versions to contempt. Foscolo published his translation under the name of Didimo Chierico; and in one of his many notes he gives us the following remarks on his native language:—

"Le donne gentili insegnarono al Parroco Yorick, e a me suo Chierico, a sentire, e quindi a parlare men rozzamente; ed io per gratitudine aggiungerò questo avviso per esse. La lingua Italiana è un bel metallo che bisogna ripulire della ruggine dell' antichità, e depurare della falsa lega della moda; e poscia batterlo genuino in guisa che ognuno possa riceverlo e spenderlo con fiducia, e dargli tal conio che paja nuovo e nondimeno tutti sappiano ravvisarlo. Ma i letterati vostri non raccattano dagli antichi se non se il rancidume, e gli scienziati vi parlano franciosamente. I primi non hanno mente, gli altri non hanno cuore; e per quanti idiomi e' si sappiano, non avranno mai stile."

The preponderance of French power during the reign of Louis XIV., and even in that of Louis XV., had infected the Italian language with an infinity of French phrases and idioms. The consciousness of the extreme corruption induced by the revolution has given rise to a zealous spirit of reform, which has itself degenerated into a superstitious worship of the ancients, and has rather augmented than

* See his answer to Calsabigi, in the edition of his tragedies by Didot.

diminished the licence of the opposite writers. We consequently find many works composed solely of phrases almost or entirely obsolete, and distinguished neither for the energy of the old writers nor for the ease of the new. Others, and they are the majority, terrified by the study of a language the abundance of whose words and the variety of whose combinations render it almost insuperable, affect that sort of style now so common throughout Europe, which they are pleased to call philosophical, and which, in fact, is but a jargon neither Italian nor French, but a bad mixture of both.

If, therefore, good writers are rare in all countries they are more especially so in Italy; for they have to connect the generic characteristics constantly inherent for five centuries in the Italian language, with the specific characteristics of their own times; and this amalgamation, not depending upon any fixed rules, must be contrived solely by the individual talents of each author. This accounts for the surprising diversity which foreigners are apt to observe in the manner of writing employed by the various authors of the same age; and perhaps this same diversity is more remarkable in the prose of Foscolo than of other writers. The Italian author also makes it an article of faith to vary his style according to his subject. Thus there is no less a difference between the letters, the romances, and the orations, than between the history and the epic or lyric poetry of these varied compositions. The 'Ortis' and the 'Sentimental Journey' resemble each other very little; notwithstanding that the author has followed the same rules of composition, and has always preserved the traits peculiar to his style. As for his 'Discourse for the Congress of Lyons,' it appears evidently written by the same man, but in a different language.

He wrote this 'Discourse' at the injunction of his Government, when Bonaparte, in the year 1801, convoked at Lyons the *Notables* of the Cisalpine Republic. The directions given to the orator were to pronounce a panegyric; but Foscolo adopted a different course. He pre-

sented a moving picture of the wretched state of the laws, of the armies, of the finances, and of the moral condition of the new republic. The sects, both old and new, that distracted their country—the priests, the nobles, the democrats, the partisans of foreign usurpation, the adulatory writers, the libellists, the defrauders of the public revenue, the monopolists, who profited by the sale of the national property, are all handled with the same severity. The following description of the masters of the republic, if it degrades the nation in one respect, exalts it on the other hand; for there must be something great in a people which can produce a single man who dares, in the cause of virtue, to paint his countrymen in such colours.

"Uomini nuovi ci governavano, per educazione nè politici, nè guerrieri (essenziali doti ne' capi delle republiche); antichi schiavi, novelli tiranni, schiavi pur sempre di se stessi e delle circonstanze che nè sapeano nè voleano domare; fra i pericoli e l'amor del potere ondeggianti, tutto perplessamente operavano; regia autorità era in essi, ma per inopia di coraggio e d'ingegno, nè violenti nè astuti; conscj de' propri vizj, e quindi diffidenti, discordi addossantisi scambievoli vituperj; datori di cariche, e palpati, non temuti: alla plebe esosi come potenti; e come imbecilli, spregiati: convennero conjatanza di publico bene e libidine di primeggiare ma nè pensiero pure di onore; vili con gli audaci, audaci coi vili, spegneano le accuse coi beneficj e le querele con le minaccie; e per la sempre imminente rovina, di oro puntellati con la fortuna, di brighe con i proconsoli, e di tradimenti con i principi stranieri."

The chief cause of this general depravity he attributes to the absence of Bonaparte in Egypt, which allowed the French Directory to tyrannise over Italy, and to pillage her provinces, not only by their own missions and generals, but by the appointment of magistrates, timid, ignorant, and avaricious, some of whom were to be found in that government which had assigned to Foscolo the pleasing duties of pronouncing their panegyric.*

The praises bestowed by the orator upon the hero who was to remedy their national wrongs, magnificent as they

* See his Dedication—"Ai Membri del comitato del Governo."

are in some respects, are still associated with the boldest maxims, and with predictions which are seldom hazarded in the hour of victory. With what satisfaction may Foscolo now look back upon the following prophetic warning!

"A ciascuno di tuoi pregi la storia contrappone e Tiberio solenne politico, e Marco Aurelio Imperadore filosofo, e Papa Leone X. ospite delle lettere. Che se molti di questi sommi, scarchi non vanno di delitti, uomini e mortali erano come sei tu, e non le speranze o il tremore de' contemporanei, ma la imperterrita posterità le lor sentenze scriveva su la lor sepultura. Infiniti ed illustri esempj hanno santificata oramai quella massima de' sapienti: niun uomo doversi virtuoso predicare e beato anzi la morte."

After describing the distress of his country, the speaker, who calls himself *Giovine non affatto libero*, proposes certain remedies, and those he would apply not only to Italy, but to maintain the renown of that hero whose future glory he declares to depend principally on the durable independence of a nation which he had rescued from the slavery and disgrace of ages. Foscolo afterwards published this 'Discourse,' with the following motto from Sophocles;—"MY SOUL GROANS FOR MY COUNTRY, FOR MYSELF, AND ALSO FOR THEE."

This discourse is not more than eighty pages, and, notwithstanding it is an historical composition, maintains a certain impetuosity and gravity of style which overwhelm and fatigue the attention. The events are hinted at, not detailed; the development concerns only their causes and their results. This brevity might be agreeable to those who had been spectators of, or actors in, the short and transitory scene; but foreign readers, and even those Italians removed by time or place from the original action, are left in the dark. It would be difficult to prove that the style of Tacitus, which Foscolo has not only copied but exaggerated with the devotion of a youth enchanted by his model, can be well adapted to this sort of composition. The English, who have perhaps run into the opposite extreme, will be astonished to hear that this 'Discourse' was particularly esteemed by the critics on account of its

close resemblance to the Latin. We should call this pedantry; but it appears a meritorious exploit in the eyes of a nation, which, having for two hundred years diluted its language to insipidity, now lays it down for a maxim that for the *graces* of style, the early Tuscan authors are to be consulted; and for the strength, and, if the word may be used, the nobility of the language, the Latins are the only safe model. It must be confessed that the origin of the language admits of this union. It is not unnatural that when they would discourse of liberty, they should have recourse to the manner of their Roman ancestors.

Bonaparte, at the Congress of Lyons, changed the name of the Cisalpine into that of the Italian Republic. He appointed himself president of this new state, and promulgated a constitution which he continued to violate at will up to the other change which converted the Republic into a Kingdom, and placed the administration of Upper Italy in the hands of a French viceroy. The only effect of Foscolo's discourse was to stop his own military promotion, but the loss of fortune was more than compensated by the public gratitude, which pointed to him as the man who had spoken the sense of the people, who had told the courageous truth, and had stood forward as the champion of national independence. It seems, however, that he continued in the army some time after this effort. The date of the preface to his 'Sentimental Journey' shows that he was, in 1805, at Calais with one of the Italian regiments which Bonaparte had united to his *Army of England*. His dedication of the works of Montecuculi, published in 1808 and 1809, which is addressed to General Caffarelli, minister of war of the Italian kingdom, tells us that he was aide-de-camp to that officer.

Foscolo published his edition of Montecuculi in two volumes, in folio, from the manuscripts discovered in the archives of the last Prince Trivulzio, by Serassi, the biographer of Tasso, and more recently by other inquirers. These manuscripts were more complete than those of the old incorrect edition, made just after the death of the author,

which had never been reprinted, and was so much forgotten that Montecuculi was known only through the French and German translations. The object of Foscolo was more than literary: he wished, by the example and precepts of an illustrious fellow-citizen, to inspire the Italians with a portion of his martial spirit, as well as to replace the author in his due rank amongst the best classical writers. He placed Montecuculi by the side of Machiavelli, and the compressed commanding style of the great rival of Turenne facilitated the labours of his editor in filling up the many blanks of the manuscript. Foscolo was commended for these supplements, and for his happy imitation of the original style; but he was accused of having been too licentious in his emendations of the text.*

Montecuculi wrote his commentaries and his military aphorisms when the use of artillery was but imperfectly known, and when a great part both of the infantry and cavalry fought with pikes and halberds, and the principal object of every war was the attack and defence of fortified towns. Foscolo illustrated his author with notes of two kinds—some of them consisting of passages from the classics, serving to show the Greek and Roman art of war, and the others relating to the system of Frederic II. and of Napoleon. By this plan the editor meant to apply each precept of Montecuculi to the three principal epochs in the history of military art—the ancient, the middle, and the modern period. To each volume he subjoined dissertations written with precisely the same object: he calls Napoleon *il maggiore guerriero delle età moderne*, an eulogium which must be allowed far from extravagant, at the time that the two senates of France and of Italy declared him the *Thunderer of the Earth* ("Jupiter foudroyant sur la terre"), and all the kings of Europe confessed the title to be fairly earned and duly bestowed.

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* Ha supplito alle lacune con lo stile del Montecuculi: ma Montecuculi nel proprio testo parla spesso con lo stile di Foscolo.—See *Giornale della Società d' Incorraggiamento*, an. 1809.

The Viceroy Eugene had about this time won a battle of no great importance against the Archduke John, in Hungary. The French chose to exalt this victory to a parallel with that of Montecuculi, who after two years of perseverance, and with an army of seven thousand men, had defeated seventy thousand Turks at a time when they were yet formidable in the field: this was at the famous battle of San Gothard. The *bulletins* observed that the Viceroy had been victorious on the same spot already illustrated by the exploits of *Montecuculi*, and had rivalled the skilful manœuvres of the Italian marshal. Foscolo devotes one of his dissertations to refute this encomium, and proves that neither the circumstances, nor the position, nor the place were the same; and he concludes by insinuating that such exaggerations might be injurious to the merit actually acquired by the Viceroy.

Foscolo was now sent as Professor of literature to Pavia, to replace Monti, who had been appointed historiographer. The new professor opened his course of lectures by an essay on the 'Origin and the Duties of Literature.'* It was his grand position that, "as society could neither be formed originally, nor afterwards kept together, except by the use of words, every abuse of this distinctive human faculty, must tend necessarily to the corruption of all social ties. Consequently, that the men of letters, being especially endowed with the power of words, are traitors to their duty whenever they neglect by their writings to excite the generous passions, to demonstrate useful truths, to add charms to virtue, and to direct public opinion to the promotion of national prosperity."

He goes on to place his men of letters as independent mediators between the government which applies to force alone, and has a natural tendency to despotism, and the people, who have no less a natural inclination towards licen-

* "Dell' Origine e dell' Ufficio della Letteratura."—Milano, 1809. It was translated and commented upon by the celebrated Guinguinet.

tiousness and slavery. He looks for the proof of these principles in the history of all nations; and the more he exults in the utility of literature, the more he declaims against the vanity and the baseness both of those who sell their abilities to a tyrant, and of those who employ them in administering to the odious passions and the capricious follies of the multitude. It was an old and constant practice in Italy to insert an eulogy of the actual government in the opening discourses of every professor. Foscolo departed from this ceremony, and subjoined a note, saying, "that it belongs to history alone to speak in a becoming manner of great sovereigns." He then cited a decree of Augustus Cæsar, which forbad the small poets and orators to disgrace his name by their ephemeral praises.

The professorships of literature not only at Pavia, but also at Bologna * and Padua, were forthwith suppressed by the government. Many other professorships underwent the same fate—namely, those for the Greek and for the Oriental languages, for history, for the knowledge of medals, and, in short, for all those branches of study not strictly belonging to medicine, to jurisprudence, and to the mathematics. Foscolo retained his *chair* only two months; and about twenty-four other professors, who had not involved themselves in the guilt of preaching his principles, were also deprived of their emoluments, after many years of literary labour. It would be hazardous to say whether the discourse of Foscolo provoked this measure, or whether it had been some time in agitation; but at all events, the Italians were struck with the verification of the words of their own Alfieri, who had told them that *absolute monarchs hate the historian, and the poet, and the orator, and give preference to the sciences.*† Perhaps it may not be uncharitable to add

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* On this occasion the celebrated Mezzofanti, professor of Oriental languages, and the most extraordinary linguist in existence, was deprived of his chair, and reduced to an income of 750 francs.

† See the article on Alfieri.

that the scientific, compared with the literary writers of every nation, repay with corresponding submission the partiality of royal patronage.

Padua, Pavia and Bologna beheld the sudden decline of the institutions which had been the ancient ornament of their towns. Four-and-twenty lyceums were founded in the respective departments of the kingdom, with the pretext of reinstating some of the professors ejected from the three universities; but it was impossible to find a sufficient number of learned individuals, or adequate salaries for all these establishments, in every branch of science and of literature; and the consequence of this dispersion, as well as of the multiplied foundations, was, that the place of professor was degraded from those high privileges and that respectability of character which had made it for centuries an object of Italian ambition.

Those who have criticised Foscolo's discourse on the origin and the duties of literature, have found all the beauties and all the defects of this author more strongly displayed in this discourse than in any other of his prose works. A strict propriety in the words, a severe grammatical exactness, and a scrupulous rejection of every thing not absolutely inherent in the genius of the language—these meritorious characteristics are apparent in every page; but on the other hand, the same composition is remarkable for an unusual method of connecting the phrases; for the perilous boldness of the metaphors; for the over-nice discrimination of the expressions, and the use of them in the primitive Tuscan sense in contradistinction to their modern acceptation. It evinces also a certain confusion of imagery with argument, a continual struggle between the natural impetuosity and the affected calm of the writer; a union of objects very different in themselves, which are distinguished by a variety of colouring that dazzles and confounds the eye; and lastly, a crowd of ideas which, together with the rapidity of expression, overwhelm and fatigue the attention.

The Cavalier Lamberti, a declared adversary of this

writer, and one of those before alluded to, who possess the reputation of great scholars, examining the works of Foscolo, calls them, "tenebrose per certo stile lor proprio di oscurità misteriosa e d'idee affollate e appena accennate, e d'eloquenza compressa sdegnosamente; quasi che questo autore non voglia per lettori che i suoi pari." *

Hippolitus Pindemonte reproaches him with the same defect, but in the tone more of a poet than a critic, and less of a censor than of a friend. "Your style," he says, "resembles the Rhone, which flows rapidly from the limpid lake of Geneva, and is lost under the Alps, to the regret of the traveller, who knows not how it has disappeared, and who finds himself obliged to wander on for some distance before he again beholds its azure current, and hears the sound of its rapid stream." † The political topics which have been generally selected for the subject of his performances, have perhaps induced this writer to leave us to guess that which he did not like to say openly. It is, however, equally true that the constant intensity of thought which he requires of his readers must be traced either to the peculiar mode in which his ideas are originally conceived, or to his wish to give them a new turn. Indeed all his writings bear the mark of meditation, although much forethought cannot be discovered in his familiar conversation, in which he gives a loose to all his ideas as they first present themselves. A literary lady has described him as *parlatore felicissimo e fecondo*,‡ and this copious eloquence is accompanied with an incessant agitation of limb and body, which, however, is, when he harangues in public, converted into an absolute inactivity. It is told of him that he has spoken for hours at the councils of war with his hands fixed on the back of a chair, without indulging in the slightest action.

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* See — in the Milanese Review — the Poligrafo, the articles signed Y.

† See Pindemonte's epistle, in verse, addressed to Hugo Foscolo.

‡ Ritratti, scritti dalla Contessa Isabella Albrizzi.

This fact, incredible as it may be to such as have seen Mr. Foscolo only in private society, will not be lost upon those who please themselves with discriminating between the different modes of intellectual exertion, and who will be obliged to account for so singular a discrepancy by recollecting that Foscolo may have deliberately preferred this motionless eloquence. The truth is, as we find in his 'Discourse upon Literature,' that he decries the *quackery* of the latter orators of Athens by praising the more ancient speakers, who harangued in the manner of Pericles, wrapped up in their *clamys*, without gesture or melody: *Peroravano avvolti, all' uso di Pericle, nella clamide, senza gesto nè melodia.*

The published poetry of this writer is confined to two odes and a little work, called 'I Sepolcri,' written when it was forbidden to bury the dead in family tombs:—

> "Pur nuova legge impone oggi i sepolcri
> Fuor de' guardi pietosi, e il nome a' morti
> Contende."

According to the provisions of this new law, all bodies, without distinction, were to be interred in public cemeteries without the towns, and the size of the sepulchral stone was prescribed, and the epitaphs were subject to the revision and approval of the magistrates. The aim of Foscolo in this poem appears to be the proof of the influence produced by the memory of the dead on the manners and on the independence of nations.

It may be sufficient to quote a specimen which will be more easily understood by those who have visited the church of Santa Croce at Florence:—

> "Io quando il monumento
> Vidi ove posa il corpo di quel grande
> Che temprando lo scettro a' regnatori
> Gli allôr ne sfronda, ed alle genti svela
> Di che lagrime grandi e di che sangue; *
> E l' arca di colui che nuovo Olimpo
> Alzò in terra a' celesti; † e di chi vide

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* Machiavelli. † Michael Angelo.

Sotto l' etereo padiglion rotarsi
Più mondi, e il Sole irradiarli immoto,*
Onde all' Anglo che tanta ala vi stese †
Sgombrò primo le vie del Firmamento;
Te beata! gridai, per le felici
Aure pregne di vita, e pe' lavacri
Che da suoi gioghi a te versa Apennino:
Lieta dell' aer tuo, veste la Luna
Di luce limpidissima i tuoi colli
Per vendemmia festanti; e le convalli
Popolate di case e d' oliveti
Mille di fiori al Ciel mandano incensi:
E tu prima, Firenze, udivi il carme
Che allegrò l' ire al Ghibellin fuggiasco; ‡
E tu i cari parenti e l' idioma
Desti a quel dolce di Calliope labbro §
Che Amore in Grecia nudo, e nudo in Roma
D'un velo candidissimo adornando
Rendea nel grembo a Venere Celeste.
Ma più beata che in un tempio accolte
Serbi le Itale glorie (ultime forse!)
Da che le malvietate Alpi e l' alterna
Onnipotenza delle umane sorti
Armi, e sostanze t' invadeano, ed are
E Patria, e, tranne la memoria, tutto."

This poem contains only three hundred lines, but it called forth pamphlets and criticisms in every shape and from all quarters. The younger writers tried to imitate it: the critics pronounced it to have brought about a reform in the lyrical poetry of Italy. The academy of Brescia proposed a prize for the best Latin translation, and awarded their premium to the professor Frederic Borgno, who soon after published his version in hexameters, accompanied with a dissertation, a passage of which may be quoted to show the tone of Italian criticism:—

"It is the business of lyrical poetry, properly so called, to present to us interesting facts so as to excite our strongest feelings, and to promulgate those opinions which tend to the prosperity of nations. Any ten verses which do not furnish the painter with images sufficient to compose an historical picture, which do not shake the soul by the noble recollections they recall, by the generous passions they

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* Galileo. † Newton. ‡ Dante. § Petrarch.

awaken, which do not engrave in luminous characters some useful truth upon the mind—these verses may, I confess, be admirable in their kind, but they do not belong to lyrical poetry. The prophetic portion of the Bible, some of the hymns attributed to Homer, Pindar, Catullus in his marriage of Peleus, the sixth eclogue of Virgil, the episodes in the Georgics, a dozen of the odes of Horace, six of the canzoni of Petrarch, a few of Chiabrera, of Guidi, of Filicaja, those of Dryden, and two of Gray, are really lyrical. All the other poetry of Petrarch, and of those called lyrical, may be justly praised, and may charm a greater number of readers even than those above cited, but it is necessary to adopt the division of Cicero, in his distinction between 'poetæ lyrici' et 'melici.' Pindar belongs to the first; Sappho, Anacreon, and Simonides, to the second."

The Italians are fond of these classifications, and indulge in them more than we should esteem profitable to the study of language. But it is also true that their critics seldom praise even their favourite authors with the indiscriminate fury of our eulogists. Mr. Borgno subjoins to his notice of Chiabrera, Guidi, and Filicaja, a list of exceptions to their merits which might surprise a foreigner, accustomed to think of the name, rather than the works of their authors. According to this authority, sonorous words and a magnificence of verse and of phrase are substituted by these writers for the requisite variety of harmony and of imagery, whilst they are totally deficient in the *chiaroscuro* of poetry, and have chosen subjects which either are not national, or, what is as bad, are totally incapable of interesting their nation.

Mr. Borgno quotes other poetical works of Foscolo, which appear to be in the same style, and, amongst others, his 'Alceus,' which describes the political vicissitudes of Italian poetry from the fall of the eastern empire to the present day. He alludes also to 'The Graces,' a poem, in three cantos. Both the one and the other are, however, inedited, and are known only by some fragments.

The blank verses of Foscolo are totally different from those of any other author. Each verse has its peculiar pauses and accents placed according to the subject described. His melancholy sentiments move in a slow and measured pace, his lively images bound along with the rapid march of joy. Some of his lines are composed almost entirely of

vowels, others almost entirely of consonants; and whatever an Englishman may think of this imitation of sense by sound (a decried effort since the edict of Dr. Johnson), the Italian poet has at least succeeded in giving a different *melody* to each verse, and in varying the *harmony* of every period.

It is perhaps necessary to be an Italian to feel the full effect of these combinations; but the scholar of every country may perceive that Foscolo has formed himself on the Greek model, not only in this particular, but in other branches of his art. In fact, he was born in the Ionian islands, as he himself tells us in some beautiful verses at the end of one of his odes:—

"Fra l' Isole
Che col selvoso dorso
Rompono agli Euri, e al grande *Ionio il corso,*
Ebbi in quel mar la culla:
Ivi erra ignudo spirito
Di Faon la Fanciulla;
E se il notturno Zefiro
Blando sui flutti spira
Suonano i liti un lamentar di lira."

Two tragedies, the 'Ricciarda' and the 'Ajaz,' by the same author, were stopped by the government after the first representation. They excited a great curiosity from motives not altogether poetical. It was reported that Moreau was his Ajax, that Napoleon was to figure in his Agamemnon, and that his holiness the Pope would be easily recognised in Chalcas. The known principles of Foscolo facilitated the recognition of these originals, who, after all, perhaps, never sat to the poet for their likenesses. Whatever were his intentions, he received immediate orders to quit the kingdom of Italy and to reside in some town of the French empire. He accordingly fixed his abode at Florence, at that time a department of France.

Foscolo has lived and written in a state of open war with the writers of the day and the reigning political parties. It is not surprising, therefore, that he has been severely handled in publications of every kind, and particularly in the journals, which will be found to contain imputations against

him not confined to his literary life. He was never personal in his first attacks, and he never replied to the personalities of others. He even affected so complete a contempt for them as to republish and distribute some of the libels written against himself. Perhaps he is not aware that this apparent moderation is anything rather than a proof of his indifference to attack.

In England these demonstrations of contempt would be suspected, and would be ridiculous; and even in Italy Mr. Foscolo has been justly charged with pushing them to an unjust exposure of men who were the most disposed to be his literary friends and admirers. He published nearly 300 pages in large octavo upon the translated elegy of Catullus, 'De Coma Berenices;' the whole lucubration being a grave and continued irony on the verbal criticisms of the commentators. Some of the learned fell into the snare; and Foscolo, who had issued only a few copies, now added a 'Farewell' to his readers, in which he repays their praises by exposing the mysteries and the abuses of the philological art. Those whom he had deceived must have been not a little irritated to find that his frequent citations were invented for the occasion, and that his commentary had been purposely sprinkled with many of the grossest faults. Neither the merit nor the success of such a pleasantry can be intelligible to an English reader; but it should be told that Foscolo, with the same patriotism which seems the devouring passion of his soul, contrived this deception partly to warn the commentators that it was their duty also, as well as that of other writers, to devote themselves to the excitement of generous sentiments in the bosom of their countrymen.*

Foscolo is an excellent scholar: his knowledge of Greek is far superior to that of many of his most distin-

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* See 'La Chioma di Berenice,' Milano, 1803. 'La Bibliothèque Italienne,' a French review, published at Turin, and 'Il Diario Italiano' for November and December of the same year.

guished fellow-countrymen: he writes Latin with facility and elegance. A little book in that language, called 'Didymi Clerici Prophetæ Minimi Hypercalypseos, liber singularis,' has been attributed, and, it is believed, justly, to his pen. It appears to be a satire against the journalists, the learned pensioners of the court, the Royal Institute, and the senate of the kingdom of Italy; but it is an enigma from beginning to end to any one not furnished with the key to the individual allusions. This obscurity showed at least, that he did not care to engage the multitude on his side, and that he was indifferent as to the dispersion of his own feelings of contempt for the men of letters of the Italian court.

The lady whose opinions have been before quoted, talks of the literary intolerance of Foscolo as the offspring of his reflection, not of his disposition: "A warm friend, but sincere as the mirror itself, that neither deceives nor conceals. Kind, generous, grateful; his virtues appear those of savage nature, when seen in the midst of the sophisticated reasoners of our days. He would tear his heart from his bosom, if he thought that a single pulsation was not the unconstrained and free movement of his soul." *

Although Foscolo had studied under Cesarotti, and had been encouraged by the voice of that generous master, he loudly disapproved of the translation of Homer, and more decidedly still of the Pronéa. He was a long time nearly connected with Monti, who frequently mentions him with applause; and, in his illustrations of Persius, foretells that his young friend will, one day or the other, be the first poet of the age. In the last years of the French government, an intimacy with Foscolo was not favourable to court

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* Intollerante più per riflessione che per natura: amico fervido; ma sincero come lo specchio, che non inganna, nè illude. Pietoso, generoso, riconoscente, pare un selvaggio in mezzo a' filosofi de' nostri dì. Si strapperebbe il cuore dal petto se liberi non gli paressero i risalti tutti del suo cuore. See *Ritratti, scritti dalla Contessa Isabella Albrizzi.*

promotion. Monti and the future Corypheus of the poets became cool to each other, and would not willingly meet in the same society; but either reciprocal fear, or the memory of their ancient alliance has not allowed any written attack from either adversary. An Englishman wished, when at the Scala theatre at Milan in 1816, to give the 'Death of Ortis' as a subject for an improvisatore; but a friend said to him, "*It will not be chosen: Monti is behind the scenes, and will hear nothing said in favour of Ortis or of Foscolo.*" The same influence, joined to that of the police, was pronounced fatal also to the 'Apotheosis' of Alfieri. There is a story current respecting the last interview of these two poets, which may illustrate and contrast the character of both. They were dining at the house of Count Veneri, minister of the public treasury: Monti, as usual, launched out against Alfieri, according to the court tone of the day: "All his works together," said he, "are not worth a song of Metastasio's" —— "*Stop there, Sir*," interrupted Foscolo, "*or I will twirl round you and your party as well as ever top was whipped by a school-boy.*" As far as respects his other great contemporaries, he has never spoken of Pindemonte but with esteem, nor ever names Alfieri without admiration. The instructions he received from Parini have mingled a tender recollection with the reverence with which he dwells upon his character, in the letters of Ortis.

In spite of his opposition to the French, and of his repeated declaration, that the representative rights belong only to the landed proprietors, it is easy to discern that Foscolo is a pupil of the Revolution. In truth, he imputes the misfortunes of Italy to the cowardice, the ignorance, and the egotism of the nobles. He owes his popularity rather to his conduct than to his maxims, or even to his works; for the first are not qualified to obtain the favour of the majority, and the second are above the common class of readers.

The admirers of Napoleon may behold in this author a rebellious subject, but a sincere eulogist wherever he has thought fit to praise. He was confined five months, and

suffered other persecutions, which did not, however, make him lose sight of the distinction between the judicious administrator and the oppressive usurper of his country. The truth is, that Napoleon conferred upon Italy all the benefit that a country divided and enslaved could possibly expect from a conqueror. To him she owed her union; to him, her laws and her arms: her new activity, and her recovered martial spirit, were inspired by his system. But Foscolo was a citizen of the Venetian republic which Napoleon destroyed, and there exists in Italy a very numerous class, who consider the independence of their country as the first indispensable step towards her regeneration. Foscolo, as well as some others, who, when the Italian republic was degraded into a subsidiary kingdom, were named amongst the electoral colleges, contrived never to attend, because he would not take the oath of allegiance. But he did not find it impossible to live under the dominion of the French. The Austrians in their turn required from him personally an oath of fidelity to their Emperor. Foscolo refused to them what he would not grant to Napoleon. But he could not breathe under their depressive system. He became a voluntary exile, and his adieus to his countrymen are couched in the language of proud resignation :—

"Let not the minister of the Austrian police continue to persecute me in my Swiss asylum; tell him that I am far from wishing to excite the hopeless passions of my fellow citizens. We were in want of arms; they were given to us by France, and Italy had again a name amongst the nations. In the access of our inflammatory fever, the loss of blood could not harm us, and the death of a single man would have inevitably produced changes favourable to all the nations who should have courage to profit by the happy juncture. But it was ordained otherwise: the affairs of the world have been turned into another and an unexpected channel. The actual disease of Italy is a slow lethargic consumption, she will soon be nothing but a lifeless carcass; and her generous sons should only weep in silence, without the impotent complaints and the mutual recrimination of slaves." *

* "Senza querele impotenti, nè recriminazioni da servi." This

It is hoped that the preceding pages may have furnished a general notion of the state of literature in Italy during the last fifty years. More extensive limits would have comprised more copious extracts from the cited authors, would have noticed other writers, and would have included not only a view of the education of the Italians, but of their style and taste, and present productions in all the branches of literature; little indeed has been done in comparison of what remains to do, but on the reception of what has been already offered will depend whether anything more shall be attempted. A great question at this moment divides the learned world in Italy into the partisans of classical poetry, and of the poetry of romance. The first, of course, range Homer in the front of their battle; and the others, who have adopted the division of Madame de Stael, and talk of a literature of the North, and a literature of the South, have still the courage to depend upon Ossian for their principal champion. The first would adhere solely to the mythology of the ancients; the other party would banish it totally from all their compositions. It would not be very difficult to state the true merits of this idle inquiry, on the decision of which may, however, depend the turn taken by the literature of the next half century. But this also must be left for another opportunity. In the mean time it may be allowed to mention, that the Italians themselves are far from ungrateful to those foreigners, especially the English, who evince a desire to be acquainted with their literature: but that they are for the most part surprised at our original misconceptions, and do not a little complain of the false impressions communicated by the ignorance of those, even amongst their expatriated countrymen, who have presumed to be our instructors.

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was inserted in the Lugano Gazette, for April 14, 1815, in an article written to answer a book with the title 'Memoria storica della Rivoluzione di Milano, seguito il 20 Aprile, 1814,' Parigi 1815. Published by some senators of the kingdom of Italy.

CONCLUSION.

The materials for the foregoing Essay were furnished to me by an Italian exile, whose assistance I could not avow without compromising him with his fellow-countrymen, and, perhaps, embarrassing his pursuits in England. The critical judgments were from my friend; the language and adaptation to English literature were, of course, my own. The caution of my coadjutor was somewhat justified by the event; for the Essay was assailed by the friends of Monti and the partisans of the romantic school in Italy; and all the praises so justly bestowed upon the verses of Pindemonti did not reconcile the poet to the gentle reproof of those "spiritual exercises which occupied a considerable portion of his time, and plunged him into that absorbing solitude which a more rational religion would have taught him to exchange for the active duties and social amusements of life."

That he was offended I had subsequently a painful proof; for when I requested the co-operation of several distinguished contemporaries of Lord Byron towards erecting a monument to his memory, Pindemonti was the only man who not only gave me a refusal, but replied to me in terms deficient in courtesy and Christian candour. He forgot that if any blame was to be attached to the request, I was the culprit, and not Lord Byron.

The readers of the Essay will observe that it relates chiefly to natives of Upper Italy, and that several writers of eminence belonging to other portions of the peninsula are not noticed in its pages. It was, indeed, my intention to have continued these biographical sketches, by adding to them similar accounts of Betinelli, Nicolini, Giusti, and others (embracing, perhaps, the famous Leopardi), who have attained to eminence since my first acquaintance with Italy; but the friend above alluded to discontinued his assistance, and another person to whom I looked for valuable help, and who kindly promised to give it to me, was

called to important public duties, which so much interfered with his literary leisure that I could not venture to remind him of his engagement.

The Cavalier Cosimo Buonarotti was the representative of a family made illustrious by a man of a genius almost universal, and which none but Italians of all modern nations have been found to possess. He lived in the house where Michael Angelo had lived: he was possessed of several unpublished manuscripts, some of them autographs, of his great ancestor; and, with a taste highly cultivated, and manners most engaging, was one of the chief ornaments of Florentine society. I was honoured by his personal intimacy, and by his correspondence, for many years; and he furnished me when at Florence, in 1842, with some notices, both in conversation and by written documents, which would have been of considerable service to me if he had been able to continue his contributions; but he received a high judicial appointment, and subsequently became one of the ministers of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. I saw him in 1854 in that character, and could not help remarking that both he and I had been somewhat diverted from those pursuits to which I had been indebted for my long intimacy with him. He was, however, changed in nothing but personal appearance. I found him the same friendly, urbane, pleasing-mannered gentleman that had greeted me in 1817. But he is gone; nor is there one of all those who made my first residence in Italy so delightful to me now left to receive this assurance of my grateful recollection of them.

It is almost superfluous to add that I leave the undertaking which I had hoped to complete to younger and to abler hands; but it may surprise some readers to hear that at present there is no such general review of the actual state of Italian literature.

THE END.

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